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ABSTRACT

The purposes of this study are to describe and evaluate the ways in which social conflict associated with racial, economic, political and ecological policies and practices are presented in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine. Using a five-step content analysis scheme fifty-eight textbooks adopted for 1971-72 by eight states across the country were analyzed. It was found that 21% of the paragraphs in grade three texts, 9% of grade five and 48% of grade nine were devoted to the four problem areas. The total references to social conflict in conjunction with the areas was 1%, 3%, and 2% respectively. Social conflict is invariably presented as being of low intensity, and in most cases as if it were imminently resolvable if not already resolved. Notable exceptions were found in fifth grade treatments of racial and ecological issues. Social conflict is consistently presented in negative terms. In presenting an unrealistic view of society which stresses harmony and consensus while minimizing references to social problems and defects, social studies textbooks fail to take into account the socio-civic knowledge and attitudes of children--as well as their potential for cognitive and affective growth in these areas. (Author)

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FINAL REPORT

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AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CONFLICT IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

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December, 1972

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

National Center for Educational Research and Development
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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

National Center for Educational Research and Development

PREFACE

The major findings reported here also appear in somewhat different form in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of the principal author.

We would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Nancy Battaini, William McKenzie and Joseph McGeehan with the coding and reliability check done for this project.

ABSTRACT

The purposes of this study were to describe and evaluate the ways in which social conflict associated with racial, economic, political and ecological policies and practices are presented in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine.

Using a five-step content analysis scheme fifty-eight textbooks "adopted" for 1971-72 by eight states across the country were analyzed.

We found 21% of the paragraphs in grade three texts, 9% of grade five and 48% of grade nine devoted to the four problem areas. The total references to social conflict in conjunction with the areas was 1%, 3% and 2% respectively. Social conflict is invariably presented as being of low intensity, and in most cases as it were imminently resolvable if not already resolved. Notable exceptions were found in fifth grade treatments of racial and ecological issues. Social conflict is consistently presented in negative terms.

In presenting an unrealistic view of society which stresses harmony and consensus while minimizing references to social problems and defects, social studies textbooks fail to take into account the socio-civic knowledge and attitudes of children -- as well as their potential for cognitive and affective growth in these areas.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purposes of the Study

The development and evaluation of curriculum in light of educational theory, research and public expectations is a continuous process. In recent years social studies curriculum has come under increasing pressure from scholars, curriculum specialists, professional organizations and other interested parties for a more realistic portrayal of the complexities and problems of society. At the same time the importance of social studies curriculum in the political socialization of children has become a topic of major concern. Often textbooks have been singled out by authorities and critics in their attempts to evaluate the curriculum effort of schools.

Since schools in all societies are charged with promoting national loyalties it should not be surprising that they present a positive image of their country. Therefore, as Hess has pointed out, when you examine school curriculum it is the socialization messages that deal with social defects and problems that are of special interest.[1]

The main purposes of this study were to describe and evaluate the verbal messages found in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine in terms of their treatment of four areas of social interaction identified as potentially stress-producing, and to describe and evaluate the ways in which social conflict associated with these areas are presented to the young reader.

The major question of the study was whether these textbooks present to the child images and messages which are selected to emphasize benign and orderly aspects of our government and nation while minimizing social conflict, defects and problems.

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[1] Robert D. Hess, "Social Competence and the Educational Process," speech delivered before the Study Group of the Developmental Sciences Trust, London, January, 1972 (proceedings in press).

Basic Assumptions of the Study

This study rests on three basic assumptions. First, it was assumed that textbooks play a major role in determining the content and method of instruction in many social studies classes across the country and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future.

Second, it was assumed that the messages children receive from textbooks about social conflict and its relation to our democratic institutions and processes has some effect in shaping their political knowledge, attitudes and beliefs.

Finally, it was assumed that as an important socializing agent, the school has a major responsibility in the political education of the young which at the minimal level calls for avoiding blatant ignorance or the complete rejection of the political mechanisms used to manage and resolve social conflict.

The discussion of these basic assumptions that follows is necessary to provide a background for the purposes of this study.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Sources of Political Socialization are Diffuse

A primary concern in the field of political socialization is the role and effectiveness of the school in shaping political attitudes, feelings and behavior. Considerable research has shown that children and adolescents have basic orientations about fundamental aspects of our political system such as law, dissent, political leaders and partisanship. A number of studies have shown that these orientations develop in systematic ways, that they change rapidly during elementary and to some extent during secondary school years, and that they may in many ways be highly similar in school age populations as in adults more generally.[1] Most notably there is evidence on the socialization of support for authority (and for the political system more generally) among preadolescents.[2] Also, there is considerable evidence about the early socialization of basic group-related activities such as party identification and racial prejudice.[3] At the same time it appears that many of these political

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[1]David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 6, August, 1962, pp. 229-246; Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1965; Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967; David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

[2]Hess and Torney, ibid., 1967; Easton and Dennis, ibid., 1969.

[3]Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959; Greenstein, op. cit., 1965; Kent M. Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," The American Political Science Review, 62, March, 1968, pp. 169-184; David O. Sears, "Political Behavior," in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, vol. 5, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.

orientations are not transmitted directly by the family.[4] Almond and Verba found in their five nation study that while parents and students agreed substantially on political party identification, students showed less political cynicism than their parents and tended to be more cosmopolitan when measured on a cosmopolitanism-localism test. Although Almond and Verba found political participation in family decisions connected with feelings of subjective political competence, they concluded that parental values were not found to be a strong predictor of pre-adult values.[5] Some researchers have concluded that the school is the major source of political attitudes and behavior for children, though definitive evidence on this is difficult to obtain.[6]

It seems highly probable that some socializing influences both in and outside school are often diffuse, presented through the mass media, through pictures, art objects, other visual representation, through rituals such as the flag salute and the response to the national anthem.[7]

It also seems likely that a substantial amount of this early learning is subtle and incidental. That is, it occurs through exposure to implicit messages, subtle cues and images of public officials and the United States which are provided through sources with which the child has frequent contact.[8]

Textbooks are a Major Source of Socialization

Certainly one source of images about the United States and its government is the social studies textbooks used in the public schools. In 1931, The National Society for the Study of Education concluded that in thousands of classrooms the textbook determined the content as well

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[4]Jennings and Niemi, ibid., 1968; Gail L. Zellman and David O. Sears, "Childhood Origins of Tolerance for Dissent," The Journal of Social Issues, vol. 27, no. 2, 1971, pp. 109-136.

[5]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 16-22.

[6]Hess, op. cit., 1972.

[7]Greenstein, op. cit., 1968; Sears, op. cit., 1969; Hess, op. cit., 1972.

[8]Hess, op. cit., 1972.

as the teaching procedures.[9] More recently, the editors of School Management conducted a study of educational practices and concluded essentially the same thing. Their study indicates that 75% of the time children spend in school from kindergarten through grade 12 is spent on work centered around textbooks. In addition, during those same years students will be expected to absorb some 32,000 textbook pages.[10]

Cumulative research shows that in spite of the proliferation of educational materials and practices in recent years, the textbook continues to be the most widely used educational tool in social studies classrooms.[11] In many cases the textbook is virtually the entire course of study.[12]

Textbook Content is of Vital Interest

The content of textbooks used in the public schools has long been the subject of research and commentary. The entire March 1969 issue of Social Education was devoted to what its editors called "A Hard Look at Social Studies Textbooks." Included in that issue is a bibliography

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[9] National Society for the Study of Education, The Textbook in American Education (30th Yearbook), Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1931.

[10] Hillel Black, The American Schoolbook, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1967.

[11] Mark M. Krug, "'Safe' Textbooks and Citizenship Education," School Review, 68, Winter, 1960, pp. 463-480; Sol M. Elkin, "Minorities in Textbooks: The Latest Chapter," Teachers College Record, 66, March, 1965, pp. 502-508; Black, ibid., 1967; Frederick R. Smith and John J. Patrick, "Civics: Relating Social Study to Social Reality," in C. B. Cox and B. G. Massialas (eds.), Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967; Charles B. Cox and Byron G. Massialas (eds.), Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967.

[12] Lee J. Cronbach (ed.), Text Materials in Modern Education, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955; William W. Joyce, "Minority Groups in American Society: Imperatives for Educators," Social Education, vol. 33, no. 4, April, 1969, pp. 429-433.

of 181 books, monographs and studies that have been written about social studies textbooks and related works.[13]

Considerable historical research has been done on nineteenth century school books and their influence on American values that does not appear in bibliographies even as extensive as the one published by Social Education. One historian found that over one hundred studies had been done on "old school books" at the University of Pittsburgh alone.[14] Research indicates that textbook authors of the past century apparently saw themselves as "guardians of tradition," and deliberately set out to socialize their young readers to the dominant norms and values of the time.[15] Elson provides a quote from an oration given by Joseph Story in 1828, that was widely included in nineteenth century textbooks to exemplify to the children the nature of the American character.

> Our constitutions have never been enfeebled by the vices or luxuries of the Old World. Such as we are, we have been since the beginning -- simple, hardy, intelligent, accustomed to self-government and self-respect.[16]

Elson points out that America was still a young country a hundred years ago and strong appeals to ethnocentrism were justified by a felt need to cultivate a strong national identity. However, Elson also documents many instances of blatant racism in early school books -- especially in regard to their treatment of American Indians, Negroes, and Jews.

The treatment of racial and ethnic minorities in twentieth century school books has also received persistent attention. It has been found by numerous researchers that, in general, members of minority groups in this country have either been given superficial or unflattering coverage

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[13] Barbara Finkelstein, Loretta Golden, and Jean Grambs, "A Bibliography of Research and Commentary on Textbooks and Related Works," Social Education, vol. 33, no. 3, March, 1969, pp. 331-335.

[14] John A. Nietz, Old Textbooks, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961.

[15] Nietz, ibid., 1961; Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.

[16] Elson, ibid., 1964, p. 169.

in social studies textbooks. (In some cases there is no mention of minority individuals or groups whatsoever.[17]

The ways in which women are portrayed in elementary school texts has also come under recent attack.[18] One study of five widely-used and recently published texts written for grades one through three concluded that elementary social studies textbooks,

> ... do their part in preparing girls to accept unquestioningly their future as unimportant, nonproductive, nonadventureous, and unintelligent beings.[19]

Since political socialization involves the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes and behaviors accepted and practiced by the ongoing political system[20] -- it should not be surprising that American Government

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[17] Tori Takaki, "The Treatment of Japan and People of Japanese Descent in Senior History Textbooks," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1953; Lloyd Marcus, The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks, New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961; Loretta Golden, "The Treatment of Minority Groups in Primary Social Studies Textbooks," unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, 1964; Kenneth Stampp, The Negro in American History Texts, Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1964; Elkin, op. cit., 1967; John Hope Franklin, "The Negro in United States History," American Teacher, 12, February, 1966, pp. 5-6, 9; Byron G. Massialas, "American Government: We are the greatest," in C. B. Cox and B. G. Massialas (eds.), Social Studies in the United States, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967; James A. Banks, "A Content Analysis of Elementary American History Textbooks: The Treatment of the Negro in Race Relations," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1969; Michael Kane, Minorities in Textbooks, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1970.

[18] Leah Heyn, "Children's Books," Women: A Journal of Liberation, vol. 1, no. 1, Fall, 1969, pp. 22-25; Jamie Kelem Frisof, "Textbooks and Channelling," Women: A Journal of Liberation, vol. 1, no. 1, Fall, 1969, pp. 26-28.

[19] Frisof, ibid., 1969, p. 28. Child, Potter and Levine found similar treatment of women in third grade readers of a more general nature. Reported in The Causes of Behavior, Rosenblith and Allinsmith (editors), Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966, pp. 357-364.

[20] Roberta S. Sigel, "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361, September, 1965, pp. 1-9.

and Civics courses and the textbooks written for them have been the subject of widespread research and debate.

Critics Have Attacked Civics Education

Many of the current critics of American education have been especially hard on the entire field of "citizenship education." This most deliberate aspect of political socialization has been charged with a variety of shortcomings, including: "fostering massive public apathy,"[21] teaching unthinking obedience to authority,[22] developing curricula that is utterly empty and sterile,[23] and supporting the status quo by suggesting to youth that ideas exist in talk or print but rarely in activity.[24] Teachers have even been accused of systematically demonstrating in school that youth have no civil liberties.[25]

Hess argues that instead of preparing our young to live in a pluralistic and complex society, social studies teachers have actually contributed to existing social divisions by teaching an incomplete and simplistic view of our nation and government that stresses values and ideals while ignoring social realities.[26]

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[21] Fred M. Newmann, "Discussion: Political Socialization in the Schools," Harvard Educational Review, vol. 38, no. 3, Summer, 1968, pp. 536-545.

[22] Herbert Kohl, The Open Classroom: A Practical Guide to a New Way of Teaching, New York: New York Review, 1969.

[23] Robert Hanvey, "The Educational Culture, The State," in E. Eisner (ed.), Confronting Curriculum Reform, Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1971.

[24] Peter Marin, "The Open Truth and Fiery Vehemence of Youth," The Center Magazine, vol. II, no. 1, January, 1969, pp. 61-74.

[25] Edgar Friedenberg, The Dignity of Youth and Other Atavisms, Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.

[26] Robert D. Hess, "Political Socialization in the Schools," Harvard Educational Review, 38, Summer, 1968, pp. 528-536.

Research Reveals Textbook Shortcomings

Numerous studies have been done on Civics and Government textbooks that tend to substantiate many of the criticisms that have been leveled at "citizenship education" in recent years. In a study of ninety-three secondary school government textbooks, Shaver concluded that students using them received an "incredibly naive" picture of American society that could lead them to be "unrealistically optimistic," or to be confused by the discrepancies between the world they read about in textbooks and the one they are exposed to in their daily lives. Shaver also faults government texts for not engaging students in critical thinking activities, and for failing to provide conceptual schemes or strategies to deal intelligently with the problems he maintains result from the inevitable "clash of values" in our society.[27]

In 1967, Smith and Patrick identified what they consider to be four "basic weaknesses" common to twelve of the most widely used junior high school civics textbooks at that time. In addition to citing the same failures to teach inquiry skills and social realities noted earlier by Shaver, Smith and Patrick criticized the texts they reviewed for not successfully integrating disparate content, and for attempting to inculcate values through "moralizing prescriptions." According to Smith and Patrick the good citizen needs to understand crucial social issues and have the conceptual tools to deal with them intelligently, and "Antiseptic textbooks, which distort reality and perpetuate social myths in a naive attempt to cultivate exemplary civic behavior ..." are therefore clearly at odds with effective political socialization. In their words, junior high school civic texts, "... plainly violate their raison d' etre -- the development of good citizens."[28]

Massialas reviewed six civics textbooks and confirmed other studies that found descriptions of the American political system in textbooks unrealistic and naive. He also was critical of the texts he studied for not providing explicit models for the discussion of controversial issues. In addition, Massialas points to the refusal of most textbook authors to take stands on controversial issues and defend them, and for failing to take into account research in philosophy and the social sciences that is especially relevant to the resolution of value conflicts which he sees as being central to our political process.[29]

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[27] James P. Shaver, "Reflective Thinking, Values and Social Studies Textbooks," School Review, vol. 73, no. 3, Autumn, 1965, pp. 226-257.

[28] Smith and Patrick, op. cit., 1967.

[29] Massialas, op. cit., 1967.

In a somewhat less critical review of American History and civics textbooks, Krug comments in detail on three widely used civics texts. He found these textbooks much improved over their earlier counterparts, but still deficient in their treatment of controversial issues. He concludes that social studies textbooks still tend to be written in ways that do not increase student understanding of our political system, much less promote a clear-cut commitment to our democratic way of life.[30]

In an attempt to identify the political norms and socialization practices of three New England communities, Litt interviewed individuals he identified as "potential civic and educational influentials" regarding what they thought to be the proper content of civics courses, and did a content analysis of the civics texts used in the three areas. He found that the leaders as well as the textbooks in all three communities (varying from upper-middle to working class) advocated the fundamentals of the democratic creed -- free speech, free election, minority rights and so on. However, he found that only the schools in the upper-middle class and "politically vibrant" community emphasized social conflict rather than consensual themes. According to Litt, the textbooks used in the low income schools he studied do not depict political participation as a viable way for citizens to influence governmental action. He concluded that the general impression left by these texts is that politics is conducted by formal government agencies harmoniously working for the good of all, therefore the public need not be concerned. On the other hand, Litt found that the textbooks used in the middle-class schools emphasized political participation as a desirable and necessary way of influencing the political process -- especially political decision-making.[31]

Joyce reports that a general review of elementary social studies textbooks indicates that the younger the student the less likely he is to be presented with content dealing with social problems and complexities. According to Joyce, cooperation, success and harmony are three basic themes common to most treatments of social interaction. The problematic and unpleasant aspects of life are not found, and except for an occasional salute to the melting-pot concept, little information is presented about anyone in the United States except the white majority.[32]

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[30] Krug, op. cit., 1960.

[31] Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, vol. 28, no. 1, February, 1963, pp. 69-75.

[32] Bruce R. Joyce, "The Primary Grades: A Review of Textbook Materials," in C. B. Cox and B. G. Massialas (eds.), Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967.

Classroom Experiences Influence
Knowledge and Attitudes

Considerable research has been done that indicates that the content and method of social studies instruction can be an important determinant in the formation and change of attitudes, as well as in the acquisition of knowledge on the part of children.

Sears reports that most of the information six-year-olds have about nationality groups comes from parents and television, but by the age of ten, children report that such information primarily comes to them from television and school -- while rarely mentioning parents as a source.[33] Since, as Greenstein points out, the average American grade school child spends over twenty hours a week watching television in addition to being exposed to other media that inevitably contains political information, it is clear that social studies educators have powerful competitors in their efforts to politically socialize children.[34]

A study of the racial attitudes of kindergarten, first and second graders concluded that the percentage of children expressing racial prejudice increases with age.[35] Trager and Yarrow maintain that children learn prejudice from curriculum content and the values implicit in it as well as from their larger environment. They conclude that democratic attitudes must be specifically taught and experienced if they are going to be learned by children.[36]

Litcher and Johnson conducted an experiment that attempted to influence the racial attitudes of white elementary school children by exposing them to multi-ethnic readers. Dramatic increases in the racial tolerance of the white children occurred. The young subjects in the study came from totally "white communities," and probably had no personal

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[33] Sears, op. cit., 1969.

[34] Fred I. Greenstein, "Political Socialization," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 14, New York: Macmillan, 1968, pp. 551-555.

[35] Marian Radke, Helen G. Trager, and Hadassah Davis, "Social Perceptions and Attitudes of Children," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 40, November, 1949, pp. 327-447.

[36] Helen G. Trager and Marian R. Yarrow, They Learn What They Live, New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1952.

contact with individuals of other races. This fact, the authors feel, underscores the importance of the choice of classroom curriculum materials -- especially for children growing up in racially homogeneous communities.[37]

A number of experiments involving various teaching techniques conducted by Bronfenbrenner and his associates indicate that children who have teachers that encourage group participation in decision-making express adult-oriented moral orientations, whereas in more traditionally didactic classrooms, the moral outlook of the children tends to be more peer oriented.[38]

Another study designed to measure attitude change exposed racially mixed high school government classes to different subject matter as well as different instructional approaches. The results of the different treatments indicate that while the presentation of controversial issues combined with a classroom atmosphere of "open-inquiry" led to consistent and favorable trends in the political attitudes of the white students, e.g., lower cynicism, higher sense of citizen duty, increased participation, and increased efficacy, the same treatment induced feelings of powerlessness and cynicism in the Black students in the class.[39]

Other studies have also uncovered strong negative feelings toward our political system on the part of white youth. Jaros headed a study of poor Appalachian children in a deprived area of Eastern Kentucky that showed a higher-than-usual degree of distrust of political processes and authority. The subjects in the sample were found to have very low feelings of political efficacy as well.[40] In 1970, Massialas reported

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[37]John H. Litcher and D. W. Johnson, "Changes in Attitudes of White Elementary School Students after Use of Multi-Ethnic Readers," Journal of Educational Psychology, vol. 60, no. 2, April, 1969, pp. 148-152.

[38]John D. Glidewell, Mildred B. Kantor, Louis M. Smith, and Lorene A. Stringer, "Socialization and Social Structure in the Classroom," in L. W. Hoffman and M. L. Hoffman (eds.), Review of Child Development Research, vol. II, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1966.

[39]Lee H. Ehman, "An Analysis of the Relationships of Selected Educational Variables with the Political Socialization of High School Students," American Educational Research Journal, vol. 6, no. 4, November, 1969, pp. 559-580.

[40]Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Subculture," The American Political Science Review, 62, June, 1968, pp. 564-574.

that 67% of a large suburban student sample believed that our government is sympathetic to their needs while only 47% of the inner-city students he questioned held the same opinion.[41]

Litt's 1963 New England study of three communities, commented upon earlier, indicates that lower-class children are often given fewer opportunities in school to learn political skills -- such as debating and running student governments -- than are upper-class children in more exclusive schools. Sigel feels that such differential treatment in school may help to explain why members of the working class are significantly less politically active as adults in this country than are those of the upper-middle class.[42]

Although the type as well as the quality of social studies experiences children are receiving around the country may differ dramatically, Sears feels that there is growing evidence that much of the hostility to political partisanship and the expression of social conflict held by many American youth stems from a generally simplistic view of the political process taught in elementary and secondary schools.[43] After finding a large percentage of a 2,000 sample of American teenagers without a clear understanding of our First Amendment guarantees -- especially in relation to minority groups -- Remmers and Franklin also point an accusing finger at social studies education. Specially they blame the "shallow treatment of controversial issues" found in the curriculum.[44]

Zellman and Sears maintain that elementary and junior high schools in this country do little in the way of teaching children to support civil liberties in actual concrete situations, and that despite exposure to more schooling, American children do not markedly increase in political tolerance with age. According to Zellman and Sears the best our schools seem to do is to allow self-confident children to respond "sympathetically, understandingly, and empathically to nonconformist groups, and in a way that does not deprive them of their rights." In addition, they point out that even though such tolerant behavior is

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[41] Byron G. Massialas, Education and the Political System, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.

[42] Sigel, op. cit., 1965.

[43] Sears, op. cit., 1969.

[44] H. H. Remmers and R. D. Franklin, "Sweet Land of Liberty," Phi Delta Kappan, 44, October, 1962, pp. 22-27.

so obviously consistent with our democratic ideology, it unfortunately characterizes only a minority of preadolescent children.[45]

A three year study designed to utilize the conflict and conflict resolution in childhood relations as a means of introducing four to nine year-olds to the political process was conducted in the Detroit schools by M. E. Turner. The children in the study participated in an experiment in self-government where they learned to call meetings when one of their members caused a disturbance. On their own, the children devised a system of rules and punishments that eventually enabled them to establish order and control without adult intervention.[46]

Since the Turner experiment Sears has found that children who express early partisanship commitment are just as supportive of authority and the nation in general as those who do not. He concludes that experience in school politics and mock elections for children seem anything but harmful.[47]

Merritt conducted an experiment in order to determine if sixth grade children are able to comprehend materials dealing with broad social conflict. In reporting his research he did not define exactly what he meant by social conflict, but the issues contained in the reading materials he presented to elementary school children are controversial and involve strong differences of opinion. Using a specially prepared test, Merritt found that the sixth graders in his study were able to comprehend social conflict and make inferences about it that he felt require "higher mental processes." Only issues about which the children had not had previous instruction were used for the study. Merritt also used fifth, seventh, and ninth-grade students for comparative purposes. He found that comprehension increased sharply from the fifth to the sixth grade, but only gradually above the sixth. Also, sixth graders tended to hold fewer stereotypes about the social issues surrounding the conflicts than the ninth graders in his sample. Merritt concluded that his study has shown that controversial issues involving social conflict can be presented to young children with fairness and objectivity, and that the sixth grade is an important level to begin such teaching before stereotypes become fixed in the adolescent mind. Merritt contends that the democratic resolution of social conflict is essential to our

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[45] Zellman and Sears, op. cit., 1971.

[46] Marion E. Turner, The Child within the Group: An Experiment in Self-Government, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1957.

[47] Sears, loc. cit., 1969.

social system, therefore the nature of social conflict and the means for resolving it should be a vital part of elementary school social studies.[48]

A number of studies, some based on large national samples, have revealed that many young Americans are grossly ignorant about the structure and function of government and the strategies of effective political activities -- both in their school experience and in the larger community.[49]

Other research has shown that many school age children have political attitudes that are antithetical to our democratic principles as expressed in The Bill of Rights.[50] Such findings have lead some writers to conclude that formal instruction in civics and government has been shown to have little lasting effect upon the learner.[51]

At least two recent experimental studies suggest that new approaches to "citizenship education" can have a definite impact upon both the political knowledge and the political attitudes of the young.

The Indiana University Curriculum Center in Government has recently developed a two semester political science course for secondary schools. The stated objectives of the course are the overcoming of the "basic inadequacies of the content of typical civics courses," and the narrowing of the "knowledge gap and conceptual lag that have severely

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[48]James Merritt, "A Study of Sixth Graders' Comprehension of Specially-Prepared Materials on Broad Social Conflicts," Journal of Educational Research, 61, March, 1968, pp. 328-333.

[49]Hazel G. Erskine, "The Polls: Textbook Knowledge," Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 27, no. 1, 1963, pp. 133-141; K. P. Langton and M. K. Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the U.S.," American Political Science Review, 62, September, 1968, pp. 852-867; National Assessment of Educational Progress, Citizenship: National Results, Denver, Colorado: Education Commission of the United States, July, 1970; John P. DeCecco, et al., Civic Education for the Seventies: An Alternative to Repression and Revolution, vol. I, Teachers College, Columbia University: Center for Research and Education in American Liberties, 1970.

[50]Remmers and Franklin, op. cit., 1962; Zellman and Sears, loc. cit., 1971.

[51]John J. Patrick, Political Socialization of American Youth, Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967.

afflicted secondary school civics instruction."[52] The course, titled American Political Behavior, attempts to utilize current findings of political science in light of the latest findings of political socialization research. Social science approaches to topics, such as voting behavior, political recruitment and influence, socioeconomic factors of politics, political compromise and conflict, are used throughout the course.

After a one year (1968-69) field trial of American Political Behavior in nine communities across the country a comparative study of its effects on students indicates that those who studied it showed greater increases in political knowledge over students who were taught a traditional civics course. The students using the experimental curriculum also showed higher increases in political skill development in all but two of the nine participating communities. Exposure to the American Political Behavior course, however, did not bring about any measurable change in the political attitudes of students. This latter finding caused one of the co-authors of American Political Behavior to conclude that probably nothing short of a "massive propaganda effort" could bring about significant large-scale changes in political attitudes.[53] On the other hand, the same author asserts that his findings show that teaching about the "... complex and sometimes sordid realities of political life ..." does not undermine political trust in children or create political cynics; nor does the early understanding of the "... controversies, conflicts, and compromises ..." so essential to American politics subvert the faith of young students in the "... participatory or libertarian principles of democracy."[54]

Zellman and Sears maintain that the origins of tolerance for political dissent occur in late childhood and early adolescence, and that their research indicates that at least this political attitude can be changed by the teaching of a more sophisticated view of political diversity and conflict to preadolescents than is normally found in elementary school social studies curriculum.

Using a sample of over 2300 California (Sacramento and Fresno) children in grades five through nine, Zellman and Sears found that

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[52] John J. Patrick, "The Impact of an Experimental Course 'American Political Behavior,' on the Knowledge, Skill, and Attitudes of Secondary School Students," Social Education, vol. 36, no. 2, February, 1972, pp. 168-179.

[53] Patrick, ibid., 1972, p. 179.

[54] Patrick, ibid., 1972, p. 178.

children do not view civil liberties as being related to a larger scheme for managing interpersonal, social and/or political conflict. Their data shows that children acquire support for the abstract principles of democracy in slogan form without learning their concrete implications. It appears, say Zellman and Sears, that a child's confidence in his ability to think divergently contributes most to whatever political tolerance he has by presumably reducing the personal threat posed by deviant outgroups. In addition, support for concrete civil liberties is dictated in large part by the strength of a child's antagonism toward the dissenting group in question.

In an attempt to bring about attitude change Zellman and Sears used social studies materials recently developed by the UCLA Committee on Civic Education for their experimental treatment. These curriculum materials stress the importance and legitimacy of group interests and political conflict, while the traditional curriculum used for their control groups emphasize only the consensual aspects of the American political system. The results of their experiment are impressive. For example, when asked if Communists should have the right of free speech in the United States, students who had studied the UCLA materials became 5% more tolerant, while those in the control groups became 3% less tolerant.

Zellman and Sears report that over-all,

> The experimental program produced consistent increase in children's acceptance of political conflict; more important, tolerance for civil liberties also increased somewhat more within the experimental than within the control group.

In conclusion they asserted that their study indicates,

> ... teaching a more sophisticated view of conflict can produce both more accepting attitudes toward conflict and greater tolerance for civil liberties.[55]

Social Studies Education Undergoes Reform

Over the past ten years a massive effort to improve social studies education has generated over 100 national curriculum projects. The American Political Behavior course discussed earlier is a product of one of the national projects. Many of the project developers have

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[55] Zellman and Sears, op. cit., 1971, p. 134.

attempted to allay some of the criticism that has been leveled at the field by addressing their materials to the more vital social issues of the day. An analysis of twenty-six projects indicates that more social realism and conflict have been introduced into social studies curriculum, and formerly "closed areas" -- such as violence, sex, personal-social conflicts -- are now treated more openly.[56] The Harvard Social Studies Project and the materials currently being developed by Shaver at Utah are noteworthy examples of new curricula specially designed to actively engage students in the analysis of public issues and values.

On the whole the new social studies curriculum projects draw their subject matter content from all the social sciences, and attempt to provide materials to teach virtually every discipline in the field at some elementary or secondary school level. In discussing the similarities among the curriculum projects, Patrick notes their attempt to make instruction,

> ... more realistic, interesting, and relevant by including controversial subjects and by attempting to relate subject matter to the experiences and concerns of students.[57]

In a comparative analysis of forty-nine elementary and secondary social studies projects that have produced materials exclusively for Civics, Government, or Problems of American Democracy courses, Turner also indicates that controversial issues are highlighted and discussed, but her data indicates that as a theme social conflict is still generally avoided even in the new materials. Her analysis of thirteen elementary social studies projects lists only two that discussed "violence." Four other projects in her sample included the concepts of "pressure" and "revolution" as themes, but did not treat them as being of prime concern. "Resolution" was the one concept that appeared most frequently in connection with any mentioned conflict. According to Turner, "resolution" appears as a separate theme in seven of the thirteen projects she analyzed, and in four instances it is treated as a recurring or dominant theme.[58]

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[56]Norris M. Sanders and Marlin L. Tanck, "A Critical Appraisal of Twenty-Six National Social Studies Projects," Social Education, vol. 34, no. 4, April, 1970, pp. 383-449.

[57]Mary J. Turner, Materials for Civics, Government and Problems of Democracy, Boulder, Colorado: The Social Science Educational Consortium, Inc., 1971.

[58]M. J. Turner, ibid., 1971.

Social Conflict is a Major Social Science Concept

Social conflict occurs in all human societies varying only in degree and form of expression.[59] As a concept central to the social sciences, it has been defined from a number of different emphases. One school of sociological thought which traces its origin to the work of Simmel and R. E. Park treats social conflict as well as competition as "forms of interaction" that contribute to the maintenance of groups and collectivities as well as to the cementing of interpersonal relations.[60] In contrast other sociologists, including Parsons and Roethlisberger, have described social conflict as a "dissociative process" -- as characterized by a suspension of communication between opposing parties -- "a disjunctive process."[61]

Those who see conflict as distinct from competition say it is always conscious and involves direct communication. R. E. Park makes the distinction as follows,

> Both competition and conflict are forms of struggle. Competition, however is continuous and impersonal, conflict is intermittent and personal.[62]

Others have made a further distinction between competition and conflict which describes competition as a milder form of rivalry than conflict.[63]

According to LeVine anthropological thought is also divided on the subject of conflict. Those who stress its eufunctional nature claim

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[59] Laura Nader, "Conflict: Anthropological Aspects," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 3, New York: Macmillan, pp. 236-242.

[60] Lewis A. Coser, "Conflict: Social Aspects," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 3, New York: Macmillan, 1968, pp. 232-236.

[61] Julius Gould and William Kolb (eds.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

[62] Gould and Kolb, ibid., 1964, p. 123.

[63] Roy A. Price, Warren Hickman, and Gerald Smith, Major Concepts for Social Studies, New York: Social Studies Curriculum Center, The Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1965.

that conflict within and between small social units promotes the solidarity of larger social units (particularly the society as a whole). Proponents of this position also maintain that rebellions against those in positions of political power "... serve to emphasize the value of those positions to society, and that expressions of hostility in ritual serve as symbolic reaffirmations of the unchallenged moral order within which the rituals occur."[64]

The school of anthropological thought, headed by Beals and Siegel, that sees social conflict primarily as dysfunctional describe it as a maladaptive outcome resulting from "... the interaction of strains -- sensitive points of potential disruption within the social system -- and stresses -- alteration in pressures external to the system."[65]

LeVine feels that what might be called the "eufunctional school" of conflict theorists, led by Gluckman and Turner, is less persuasive than they could be because they have limited themselves to analyses of preliterate African societies, whereas those who follow Beals and Siegel have attempted broadly cross-cultural formulations that are applicable to all human societies and testable in the laboratory as well as in the field. Another major difference between the two schools of thought, according to LeVine, is that the former has concentrated on conflict as an aspect of stable social systems, while the latter has studied conflict as a product of cultural change.[66]

Social conflict is defined in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences as,

> ... a struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals. Such conflicts may take place between individuals, between collectivities, or between individuals and collectivities. Intergroup as well as intragroup conflicts are perennial features of social life.[67]

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[64]Robert A. LeVine, "Anthropology and the Study of Conflict: An Introduction," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 5, 1961, pp. 3-15.

[65]LeVine, ibid., 1961.

[66]LeVine, ibid., 1961.

[67]Coser, op. cit., 1968, p. 232.

Other authorities have used the concept of social conflict to refer only to the incompatibility or antagonism between groups of persons while excluding that between individuals. From this perspective, social conflict occurs among groups in a community, between communities, or between different nations and societies. Social conflict between groups may be manifest behaviorally in several culturally patterned ways.[68]

LeVine has termed the behavior associated with social conflict as "conflict-indicating," and has classified it into five categories including: physical aggression (violence), public verbal dispute, covert verbal aggression (ridicule, blame, gossip), breach of expectations, avoidance and separation.[69] According to Nader, "conflict-indicating" behavior is a cross-cultural phenomenon, and any or all of LeVine's five categories may be found within the same culture.[70] Attitudes accompanying "conflict-indicating" behavior include hostility and negative images or stereotypes.[71]

From an ecological view, social conflict is not only a domain in itself, but a "... manifestation of the inherent properties of culturally based behavior in its continuing interaction with the environment."[72] Social conflict in this sense, then, relates to the adaptations of belief systems and social structures caused by the dynamics of external conditions, as well as to the "structural principles of human associations.[73]

Nader has pointed to the marked trend to consider conflict and change as inevitable and essential aspects of the social process.[74] Inkeles notes that social scientists have long called for a dynamic conception of society that includes order and disorder as well as orderly

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[68] Frederic W. Ilfeld, Jr. and Richard J. Metzner, "Alternatives to Violence: Strategies for Coping with Social Conflict," in D. Daniels, M. Gilula and F. Ochberg (eds.), Violence and the Struggle for Existence, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970.

[69] LeVine, op. cit., 1961.

[70] Nader, op. cit., 1968.

[71] Ilfeld and Metzner, op. cit., 1970.

[72] Alan R. Beals and Bernard J. Siegel, Divisiveness and Social Conflict, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966, p. vii.

[73] Nader, op. cit., 1968.

[74] Nader, ibid., 1968.

and disorderly change. He suggests that the debate between those who would describe society only in terms of its striving to reach consensus and those who see conflict as the primary dynamic in human interaction could be resolved in favor of a new model such as the "tension-prevention/tension management" system formulated by Feldman and Moore.[75]

According to the Feldman and Moore model all societies are subject to and marked by internal sources of change, and that these sources include persistent tensions -- some of which produce social conflict. These tensions or strains, however, are "hospitable environments" for social change, for they increase the probability that major social change will be located at points of profound social friction. For example, the Women's Liberation Movement has been expanding largely because we are acknowledging that certain tensions exist about the traditional roles women have been expected to fulfill in our society. The Movement has made some success in changing social norms for women in general, but it has also brought about increased tension for many individuals and in some cases social conflict. Such an outcome would be predicted by the Feldman and Moore model, for it points out that although deliberate change can be aimed at solving disequilibrium, it is itself disequilibrating because it creates new tensions while only partially resolving old ones. To continue with the Woman's Liberation example, legislation has recently been written to eliminate sex discrimination in hiring practices, but the lack of adequate child care in many areas makes it difficult if not impossible for many mothers of young children to pursue careers outside the home. As a result we are now rethinking our notions about community child care responsibilities as well as redefining the roles of women. Feldman and Moore conclude that all advanced (industrial) societies must become oriented to accepting the permanence of social strains and adjusting to them.[76]

Coser maintains that social conflict is dysfunctional for a society only to the extent that there is no or insufficient toleration and institutionalization of conflict within that society. What threatens the equilibrium of a society, says Coser, is not social conflict as such, but the rigidity which permits hostilities to accumulate and to be channeled along one major line of cleavage once they break out in conflict.[77]

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[75] Alex Inkeles, What is Sociology?, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.

[76] Arnold Feldman and Wilbert Moore, "Industrialization and Industrialism: Convergence and Differentiation," Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, vol. II, Louvain: International Sociological Association, 1962.

[77] Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, New York: The Free Press, 1956.

Nader also sees the intensity of social conflict related to the rigidity of the social structure. She notes that while all social systems are divided into a series of opposing groups with cross-cutting membership based on the multiplicity of the conflicts that exist within them, the dysfunctional aspects of the inevitable conflict in a society can be minimized by channeling behavior along controllable lines.[78]

Dahrendorf holds that the chief contribution of conflict is keeping social systems from ossification. He feels that class conflicts are never resolved -- only regulated. "Regulation is most effective," says Dahrendorf, "when both sides recognize the reality of the conflict (that they must deal with the opposition), when both sides are organized in interest groups, and when agreed rules of the game have been developed."[79]

According to Angell, one of the basic assumptions Lipset makes in his Political Man is that democracy is a system that requires consensus to make it work. Social conflict must never be stifled in a democracy, says Lipset, for democracy is a political system whose policies are the product of that very conflict.[80]

Wiggins also accepts the central role of social conflict in the democratic process. Drawing parallels between "social transactions" and economic market transactions, she maintains that democratic values, e.g., freedom, justice, minority rights, etc., are such that everyone cannot have his fill. Therefore, public controversies involving the redistribution of social benefits among people are ultimately resolved or managed through the democratic process in light of the relative power of the contending interest groups.[81]

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[78] Nader, op. cit., 1968.

[79] Robert C. Angell, "The Sociology of Human Conflict," in E. B. McNeil (ed.), The Nature of Human Conflict, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

[80] Angell, ibid., 1965.

[81] Suzanne Wiggins, "Economics in the Curriculum," in I. Morrissett and W. W. Stevens, Jr. (eds.), Social Science in the Schools: A Search for Rationale, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971, pp. 93-107.

Study of Social Conflict[82] is Recommended

There is a growing body of opinion based primarily on political socialization research, that we will discuss here, that recommends children be exposed to the study of social conflict early in their school experience. The general argument is that children apparently form basic political dispositions (Easton and Hess say between the ages of three and thirteen),[83] and since the school plays a major role in the socialization process, it is imperative to design elementary school curriculum in such a way that the young will come to understand and appreciate the capacity of the democratic process to cope with the demands of a pluralistic and dynamic society. There is also a concern for what Hess calls the "care and feeding of social institutions," e.g., the need to orient formal education toward developing social competence in the young which has long-term relevance for the effectiveness and vigor of socio-political structures.[84] The schools can best accomplish this type of "citizenship education," the argument concludes, if the curriculum emphasizes political realities and the functions of social conflict.

A number of authorities who see the elementary school years as crucial in the socialization process point to studies that indicate formal instruction about government in high school seems to have little influence on previously held political values.[85] Adleson's research on what he calls the "political imagination" indicates that adolescents tend to be no more politically mature when they graduate from high school than when they enter the ninth or tenth grade. Adleson says that politically speaking, the eighteen year-old is just like the fifteen year-old only more so.[86] Sigel reports that great personality changes occur in children during latency and adolescence that affect their political attitudes

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[82] Social conflict is used here to refer to the conscious incompatibility or antagonism arising from the deliberate effort on the part of individuals or groups to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Social conflict may be manifest behaviorally as physical aggression, including violence, verbal dispute, covert verbal attack (ridicule, blame, gossip), breach of expectations, avoidance, and separation. Attitudes accompanying such behavior include hostility and negative images or stereotypes.

[83] Easton and Hess, op. cit., 1962.

[84] Hess, op. cit., 1972.

[85] Easton and Hess, op. cit., 1962.

[86] Joseph Adelson, "The Political Imaginations of the Young Adolescent," Daedalus, 4, Fall, 1971, pp. 1013-1050.

as well as their political knowledge.[87] Adleson and O'Neill point to the years between eleven and thirteen as being the most important for "political development." They feel that the political sophistication acquired during this period is made possible because of newly acquired emotional and cognitive maturity.[88]

Piaget and Weil conducted research on the development in children of the idea of the homeland and of relations with other countries, and came to the conclusion that for educators,

> ... the main problem is not to determine what must or must not be inculcated in the child; it is to discover how to develop that reciprocity in thought and action which is vital to the attainment of impartiality and affective understanding.[89]

Sigel says the implication of Piaget's research is that the understanding a child has of social events is dependent on the stage of cognitive development at a given chronological age.[90]

Kohlberg and his associates have also conducted a long line of cognitive development research involving the application of cognitive stages to stages of moral reasoning. In a recent study Kohlberg and Gilligan conclude that the national curriculum reforms that have produced the so-called "new math," "new science," and "new social studies" have all assumed formal-operational thought on the part of students rather than attempting to develop it. They recommend that existing curricula be reformulated as tools for developing principled logical and moral thought rather than presupposing it.[91]

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[87] Roberta S. Sigel, Learning about Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization, New York: Random House, 1970.

[88] Joseph Adelson and Robert P. O'Neil, "The Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 4, July-December, 1966, pp. 294-306.

[89] Jean Piaget (assisted by Anne-Marie Weil), "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," in R. S. Sigel, Learning about Politics, New York: Random House, 1970, p. 30.

[90] Sigel, op. cit., 1970.

[91] Lawrence Kohlberg and Carol Gilligan, "The Adolescent as a Philosopher: The Discovery of the Self in a Postconventional World," Daedalus, vol. 100, no. 4, Fall, 1971, pp. 1051-1086.

itself with social education in elementary schools as well as in secondary schools.[94]

Although there exists some difference of opinion about what grade level should be the first to begin the deliberate study of political behavior and social problems, there is a consensus that it should begin before the high school years.[95]

It appears that many elementary school specialists in social studies would agree with Ploghoft and Shuster when they maintain that,

> Issues and conflicts are natural aspects of life in a free and open society and should be encountered at an early age.[96]

In reviewing the implications of political socialization research for the classroom teacher Decaroli feels that the great deal of "political learning" children bring with them when they first begin school suggests the entire K-12 curriculum could be wisely used to bring about more effective civics education.[97]

Smith and Patrick say the implications of political socialization research for educators are,

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[94]American Political Science Association Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, "Political Education in the Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science," PS Newsletter of the American Political Science Association, 4, no. 3, Summer, 1971, p. 22.

[95]George Ferree and Catherine Ferree, "Law and Order: Conflict and Dissent -- An Overview," Social Education, vol. 35, no. 5, May, 1971, pp. 490-494; B. R. Smoot, "Law and Order: Conflict and Dissent -- The Teacher's Dilemma," Social Education, vol. 35, no. 5, May, 1971, pp. 495-498; Phillips V. Weaver, "Law and Order: Conflict and Dissent in the Primary Grades," Social Education, vol. 35, no. 5, May, 1971, pp. 499-502-531; Guy A. Larkins, "Law and Order: The Policeman is Our Friend -- Off the 'Pig,'" Social Education, vol. 35, no. 5, May, 1971, pp. 503-506, 535.

[96]Milton E. Ploghoft and Albert H. Shuster, Social Science Education in the School, Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971, p. 60.

[97]Joseph Decaroli, "Political Socialization," Social Education, vol. 36, no. 1, January, 1972, pp. 92-93.

> ... obvious and ominous: instruction in civics during the junior high school grades appears to be the last chance seriously to influence bedrock political values.[98]

Bruner in his influential book The Process of Education, stated the hypothesis that, "Any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development."[99] Elsewhere Bruner elaborated his hypothesis in relation to social studies curriculum.

> It is not honest to present a fifth-grade social studies class with an image of town government as if it were a den of cub scouts presided over by a parent figure interpreting the charter -- even if the image set forth does happen to mesh with the child's immediate social experience. A lie is still a lie -- even if it sounds like a familiar truth.[100]

It is quite clear that the mass media at the least rivals the school as an important socializing agent, and in virtually any American community provides children ample opportunity to learn about the conflict and defects of our society -- even if their local politicians happen to be "boy scouts."[101] It is also obvious that many children often have incomplete -- if not inaccurate information about social issues that directly affect their lives.

At the same time, it appears that social studies curricula in this country has traditionally minimized the negative while accentuating the positive.[102] This primacy of the positive and consensual, says Sears,

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[98] Smith and Patrick, op. cit., 1967, p. 123.

[99] Jerome S. Bruner, The Process of Education, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962-A, p. 33.

[100] Jerome S. Bruner, On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962-B, p. 124.

[101] Sigel's (1970) research on the reaction of children after learning of the assassination of President Kennedy strongly underscores the importance of the media in the civic education of the young.

[102] Child, Potter and Levine have also reported that first and third grade reading textbooks either avoid or misrepresent aggressive themes while emphasizing dependency behavior that is not congruent with the behavior expectations of society at large, or developmentally

may leave the child naive about conflict and cleavage when he becomes more aware of it. If Sears is correct we may not be teaching political commitment to the democratic process at all. Instead, Sears says, we have led children to reject,

> ... the desirability of intrasystemic conflict (while becoming) ambivalent about established mechanisms for channeling and regulating conflict, such as politicians and the party system.[103]

Preston feels that rather than avoiding the study of social conflict in elementary social studies, teachers should use it to teach children the value of facts and open-mindedness. Teaching young children to form and modify their opinions about important social issues on the basis of evidence, says Preston, is an excellent way to protect them from being manipulated by propaganda. To label as "bad" the conflict, force and competition upon which our society is largely based is "futile and often false," according to Preston. In fact, he asserts that,

> Introducing the child to the world honestly and frankly increases his respect for the teacher and heightens his attention.[104]

Although commenting on elementary reading textbooks, Zimet arrived at conclusions that are equally appropriate for social studies curriculum.

> There is a vital role that elementary reading textbooks can perform in overcoming the discontinuities between childhood and adulthood, life in school and in the world outside the school. By dealing with aggressive drives directly, the child can better understand both the direction these drives can take him and the direction he can take them ... nothing

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appropriate. Irvin L. Child, Elmer H. Potter, and Estelle M. Levine, "Children's Textbooks and Personality Development: An Exploration in the Social Psychology of Education," in J. F. Rosenblith and W. Allinsmith (eds.), The Causes of Behavior (second edition), Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1969.

[103] Sears, op. cit., 1969, p. 441.

[104] Ralph Preston, "Introducing Children to the World," in J. C. McLendon, W. W. Joyce and J. R. Lee (eds.), Readings on Elementary Social Studies: Emerging Changes, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970, p. 256.

> is too bad for children to hear since terrible basic plots are already within and without him. What matters is how they hear about these things.[105]

Shaftel takes a more conservative stance and warns against plunging young children into large societal problems until they learn to use cognitive and affective information to solve their own problems. She recommends,

> ... a curriculum in the primary grades that begins with the social dilemmas of children -- their interpersonal relationships, their wants and needs, the exploration of their roles in home and school. For six-year-olds the starting point is 'me' and gradually shifts to the I-other relationships.[106]

Other educators suggest that we are in a time of "rapid change, tensions and confrontations," and what we need is a thorough study of social conflict and conflict resolution. L'Aventure, for example, says,

> We must try to understand conflict, assay its impact on our lives and institutions, and establish guidelines suitable for teaching about conflict in our educational setting.[107]

The Curriculum Center at Syracuse University has made a significant step in the study of social conflict. In 1963 it began the task of identifying the major concepts of the social sciences and allied disciplines that are appropriate for inclusion in elementary and secondary social studies curriculum. Conflict is one of the thirty-four major substantive concepts that has been identified so far by the ongoing project. According to the directors of the project,

> To ignore conflict as a social force worthy of recognition in curriculum revision is an unrealistic view of how man's destinies have been shaped.

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[105] Sara G. Zimet, "A Rationale for the Inclusion of Aggression Themes in Elementary Reading Textbooks," Psychology in the Schools, vol. 7, July, 1970, pp. 232-237.

[106] Fannie R. Shaftel, 'The Elementary Social Studies We Need," The Social Studies Professional, no. 17, January, 1972, pp. 3-4.

[107] Constance L'Aventure, "Educational Priorities for a Changing World," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, vol. 40, no. 2, March, 1970, pp. 253-254.

> Conflict has been a powerful if not the MOST powerful force in structuring the world of today.[108]

Ploghoft and Shuster have also selected "conflict" as one of the major social science concepts to be given high priority in elementary school programs. They feel that,

> The young member of the democratic society will be neither surprised nor frightened by the emergence of issues and conflicts ...

They further maintain that,

> Unless the school will deal honestly and openly with issues and conflicts ... an effective element of social education is lost.[109]

The Diablo Valley Education Project in conjunction with the Center for War/Peace Studies is currently developing curriculum ideas and materials[110] for teaching about war, peace, conflict and social change. Robert Freeman, Director of the combined project, feels that positive and constructive attitudes can be fostered in youth by providing them with specific knowledge about conflict as well as,

> ... with opportunities to practice conflict resolution and to feel the sense of outrage that frequently leads to violence.[111]

Freeman contends that as individuals become more familiar with the varieties and functions of conflict they become more optimistic about their ability to cope with societal problems. Freeman says that it has been his experience that,

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[108] Price, Hickman and Smith, op. cit., 1965, p. 39.

[109] Ploghoft and Shuster, op. cit., 1971, p. 62.

[110] David N. Daniels, a Stanford University psychiatrist, has provided some theoretical base for the project that is most unusual in curriculum development. His input is contained in his unpublished mimeo, Curriculum on Conflict: Some Suggestions, Diablo Valley Education Project, 1971.

[111] Robert E. Freeman, "Guide to the Concept: Conflict," unpublished mimeograph, Diablo Valley Education Project, 1971, p. 5.

> As students become more familiar with the wide range of non-violent processes for handling conflict, avoidance and violence are soon seen as inadequate approaches to conflict destined to disappoint those who rely on such techniques.[112]

The American Political Science Association states that while schools should not promote cynicism and despair, neither should they teach highly unrealistic and romanticized images of politics. The Association recommends that,

> The existence of conflict, the importance of self-interest, the failures of public policies and political institutions to achieve given objectives, and inequalities in the distribution of political power are examples of political realities which most students readily learn about from one source or another. Schools should provide a learning environment in which students can develop a cognitive understanding of the realities of political life.[113]

It would appear that Inkeles speaks for many in the academic community when he asserts that any study of society which completely ignores the manifestations of social disorder and strain is clearly an incomplete and inadequate study.[114]

Summary

In providing background information for this study we have cited research that indicates that many young Americans neither understand or support our basic constitutional liberties. Some experts have charged social studies education with failing to develop knowledgeable and responsible citizens. The lack of realism in social studies curriculum has been especially singled out for criticism. Some research indicates that both political knowledge and attitudes can be changed in the classroom. A number of authorities have emphasized that social conflict is present in all societies, but need not be dysfunctional. It has also been pointed out that the democratic process is uniquely equipped to deal

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[112] Freeman, ibid., 1971, p. 2.

[113] American Political Science Association, op. cit., 1971, p. 4.

[114] Inkeles, op. cit., 1964.

with, work with, and transform such conflict into productive ends. Many maintain that if our young are to be committed to the democratic resolution of social problems they must come to an early understanding of the nature of social conflict.

Our review of the literature also indicates wide belief in the proposition that children should explore contemporary social problems and the social conflict that often accompanies them early in their school experience. Many children are introduced to the tensions and conflict of modern America even before they enter school -- certainly before they start their high school years. There is no way in our society of controlling all the diffuse socialization messages youth receive in their life outside of school. Once in the classroom, however, social studies textbooks can serve as an important aid in the deliberate and systematic socialization of all children.

Public school textbooks are a product of their time, and no publisher wants to produce a text that cannot find a market. Given the central role textbooks play in the civics education of American youth, however, we feel that there is a need to bring the most convincing theories and research findings to bear on their content. Before we can evaluate the political socialization messages currently being presented in widely used social studies texts we must know what these messages are. The study described in the following chapters provides this needed data for a large national sample of texts being used today in grades three, five and nine.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Nature of the Study

This study was designed to determine quantitatively and qualitatively what political socialization messages have been officially sanctioned by public school systems across the country as appropriate textual learning material for children during some of their most impressionable years.

Using the techniques of content analysis[1] we analyzed a large national sample of elementary and junior high school social studies textbooks in terms of the messages and images they present about four areas of social interaction in which stress or defects are evident in contemporary American society. The problem areas we choose to analyze included racial, economic, political, and ecological policies and practices. For the purposes of this study we defined "contemporary" as the year 1945 to the present.

It was our intention to determine whether the social studies content currently being presented to children in grades three, five and nine in a large number of American schools appears to take into account the political knowledge and attitudes of children during that age span as indicated by recent research in the area of political socialization.

We also sought to determine the extent to which social studies textbooks officially adopted by states throughout the country indicate a responsiveness to widespread demands for a more comprehensive and realistic treatment of political behavior and social conflict throughout the curriculum.

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[1] Paisley defines content analysis as "a phase of information-processing in which communication content is transformed, through objective systematic application of categorization rules into data that can be summarized and compared." Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.

Design of the Study

Our content analysis scheme consisted basically of five steps. First, we determined the amount of coverage by paragraph that each textbook in our sample devotes to the four areas of social interaction we identified as relevant to political socialization. Next we determined the extent to which the four areas are described in the texts as involving social conflict. If no conflict was found in the textual treatments we concluded step one in our analysis by simply computing the percentage of paragraphs each text devotes to each of the four areas. If conflict was found, we then moved on to the qualitative section of our analysis.

We began our qualitative analysis by determining the severity of whatever social conflict appears in the textbook content and assigned it a score on a three point "intensity scale." Then the author's attitude toward the conflict as indicated in the text was determined and assigned a score on a seven point scale that ranged from zero, where it is impossible to discern the author's attitude, to +3 (Extremely Favorable) for treatments in the positive direction, to -3 (Extremely Unfavorable) for treatments in the negative direction. An author presenting social conflict as stimulating desirable changes and reforms, for example, was assigned a positive score -- while an author describing social conflict strictly as dysfunctional and undesirable received a negative score for that particular treatment.

Finally, we determined the extent to which the social conflict is presented in our textbook sample as being resolvable or already resolved. We also noted the number of instances where social conflict appears without any mention of its resolution.

Categories

The four categories of social interaction we formulated for our analysis are by no means exhaustive, but we found general agreement among social studies educators, including Stanford University professors and graduate students in the field as well as other widely recognized authorities,[2] that all four involve areas of stress or defects in the United States and that discussion of them should appear somewhere in elementary

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[2]Bruce R. Joyce, op. cit., 1967; Wayne L. Herman, Jr., Current Research in Elementary School Social Studies, London: The Macmillan Company, 1969; Preston, op. cit., 1970; William Vernon Hicks, W. Robert Houston, Bruce D. Cheney, and Richard L. Marguard, The New Elementary School Curriculum, New York: Van Nostrand, Reinhold Company, 1970.

and junior high school social studies curriculum. With the preface that social interaction within each of the four areas is potentially stress-producing we defined our categories as follows:

I. Race and ethnic relations, which involve the social relationships that exist between the majority white populations and groups that are distinguished in this country by their culture or by their race.

(An example would be a discussion of the problems American Indians might encounter when moving from a rural reservation to a large city.)

II. Distribution of income, goods and services, which involve access to the wealth and resources within our society.

(An example could be a discussion of the income and living conditions of migrant farm workers as compared with urban factory workers.)

III. Political negotiations and processes, which involve the interaction between groups of people, institutions, public officials, and decisions which concern the allocation of political resources or the selection of political leaders.

(An example is a discussion of the tactics student or minority groups have used to secure certain political rights and benefits.)

IV. Ecological practices, which involve the utilization of resources and the preservation of the natural pattern of relations between man and his environment.

(An example is a discussion of the problems created when chemicals and sewage are dumped into waterways.)

Since we were primarily interested in how contemporary American society and its domestic problems are being presented to children in school we purposely ignored textual content that deals with periods of history before 1945, or with other cultures and other lands. Also, we

did not analyze our textbook sample for its treatment of foreign relations -- including wars. We felt that elementary school textbooks -- especially for the third grade -- would include very little from these areas in any discussion of domestic affairs.

Sample

The textbooks analyzed for this study were drawn from a random sample of the basal and supplemental social studies texts officially adopted for the 1971-72 school year by the following eight states:

Alabama	Mississippi
California	Nevada
Florida	Oklahoma
Indiana	West Virginia

Typically states that adopt textbooks on a state-wide basis will list from four to eight selections as "acceptable" for each course and grade level, and allow individual school districts to choose the ones they prefer to use. If each state chose completely different textbooks for the same grade levels our task would have been large indeed. However, we found that a large percentage of the textbooks adopted for the three grades we chose to study are being used in as many as five of the eight states in our sample. Our total textbook sample was fifty-eight-eighteen for grade three and twenty each for grades five and nine. The content of four texts (3 in the fifth grade sample and 1 in the ninth) deals with subject matter that does not fit into our categories, therefore, no scores appear in our findings for them.

The complete breakdown by grade level of the number of texts adopted and the number we analyzed for this study appears as follows:

Number of Social Studies Textbooks
Adopted and Analyzed

Analyzed				Adopted		
Grade Three	Grade Five	Grade Nine	Adopting State	Grade Three	Grade Five	Grade Nine
4	3	6	Alabama	6	7	8
3	5	12	California	4	9	*
5	3	5	Florida	6	4	5
4	3	5	Indiana	7	7	7
5	4	5	Mississippi	5	5	5
5	3	4	Nevada	7	5	6
8	5	3	Oklahoma	8	6	6
4	8	**	West Virginia	6	14	**

Total books coded = 18 (Grade 3), 20 (Grade 5) and 20 (Grade 9)

*California adopts textbooks for grades K-8 only. The 12 texts listed here are California "civics" adoptions for grade 8, but they were analyzed for other states in our sample as 9th grade "civics" adoptions.

**West Virginia also adopts textbooks for grades K-8 only, but we were able to learn through correspondence with the State Superintendent's office that seven of the twenty texts in our ninth grade sample are widely used at that level in West Virginia schools.

At the commencement of the current school year there were twenty-six states adopting public school textbooks on a state-wide basis. Each of these states has an official commission or agency that reviews and "adopts" texts for various subjects and grade levels. It is a violation of the Education Code in some of these states for a public school employee to use textbooks in class that have not been officially sanctioned. Those charged with making the adoptions usually have a wide range of commercial books to choose from and their decisions -- if not their deliberations -- are matters of public record. All of the states currently using such a procedure, with the exception of Indiana and Oklahoma, are located in what is called the Far West (including Alaska and Hawaii), Southwest or Southeastern parts of the United States. These include:

1. Alabama
2. Alaska
3. Arizona
4. Arkansas
5. California
6. Florida
7. Georgia
8. Hawaii
9. Idaho
10. Indiana
11. Kentucky
12. Louisiana
13. Mississippi
14. Montana
15. Missouri
16. Nevada
17. New Mexico
18. North Carolina
19. Oklahoma
20. Oregon
21. South Carolina
22. Tennessee
23. Texas
24. Utah
25. Virginia
26. West Virginia

We selected eight states for this study from the above twenty-six in such a way as to have a stratified national sample representing each geographic area in which textbooks are adopted on a state-wide basis.

From the official "adoptions" we selected a random sample of at least half of the basal and supplemental social studies texts for grades three, five and nine. These three grades were chosen because they span seven very important years in the cognitive and affective development of children as evidenced by research findings discussed earlier in this study, and because social studies curriculum in these three grades typically deals with the study of civics, government and contemporary American society in general.

Content Analysis Scheme

Each textbook selected for this study was subjected to a content analysis consisting of the following procedures:

1. Each textbook was read and coded by a trained coder. (The "rules" we used for coding our data are discussed in this following section as they applied to the various steps in our content analysis scheme.)

2. Written content dealing with American society from 1945 to the present was subjected to a paragraph-by-paragraph analysis. Textual content dealing with earlier periods of history or with other cultures or other lands was not coded. Foreign affairs, including wars were also excluded.

3. Each of the four categories of social interaction defined for this study was considered a recording unit for our content analysis

scheme. The content unit of analysis was the paragraph.[3] (For the purposes of this study a paragraph was defined as a distinct portion of written text dealing with a particular point, usually beginning -- commonly with indention -- on a new line.) In instances of textual dialogue that ran only one or two lines, we counted each complete conversational interchange as one paragraph.

4. The content of each textbook was coded according to the following steps:

Step One:

Each paragraph was read to determine if it describes any of the four "categories of social interaction" we defined for this study. The tally for this step involved a simple yes/no. Thus, Step One gave us the total number of paragraphs each text devotes to four social areas.

Step Two:

If the answer to the first question was "yes," then the coder determined if the social interaction is presented in such a way as to indicate there is social conflict involved with it. (For example, coders were instructed to code a five paragraph description of a Japanese gardener and a Japanese art shopkeeper that refer only to their business success as minority group members without mentioning negative things such as racial discrimination, as five instances of Category I -- "Race and Ethnic Relations" -- with no social conflict.)

Step Three:

If one of the categories of social interaction were found in a context of social conflict the coder then determined the intensity of the conflict and assigned it a score on a three point scale. The scale appeared as follows:

"Conflict Intensity" -1 Low : -2 Med : -3 High

Coders were guided in their judgments of conflict intensity by our definition of social conflict in general and

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[3] The category (or theme as it is often called) and the paragraph have been shown to be the most useful units for content analysis research, according to Holsti, op. cit., 1969.

by the "conflicting indicating" behaviors contained within it in particular. We defined social conflict in Chapter II as,

> the conscious incompatibility or antagonism arising from the deliberate effort on the part of individuals or groups to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals.

Listing the ways social conflict may be manifest behaviorally we also indicated five "conflict-indicating" behaviors that were used as guides for our intensity scale as follows:

1. Physical Aggression (including violence) = High Intensity

   This would include armed combat between groups, feuding, homicide (political assassination), as well as destruction of property as in arson and theft. The value of goods destroyed or stolen was taken into account, e.g., the burning of Watts, California in 1965 was considered high intensity conflict, whereas the littering of the highways was considered low intensity.

2. Public Verbal Dispute = Medium Intensity

   This would include public insult and accusation of wrongdoing, debate, and litigation that appeared to be used for aggressive purposes.[4]

3. Covert Verbal Aggression = Medium Intensity

   This would include malicious gossip, and other privately expressed harsh criticisms and suspicions.

4. Breach of Expectation = Low Intensity

   This covers failure to perform acts which are valuable to other persons or groups which they

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[4] LeVine (1961) points out that, "In one sense, any culture pattern which pits individuals against one another as adversaries with conflicting interests can be viewed as social conflict, although it may be a highly cufunctional form of it." p. 6.

have come to expect as the result of past performance. Refusal to participate in cooperative endeavors could also be an expression of social conflict.

5. Avoidance and Separation = Low Intensity

These behaviors involve cutting off contact and communication more so than with breach of expectation and include institutionalized avoidance and separation as well. The erection of fences or other barriers between neighbors, emigration of individuals or groups, segregation of groups, and the secession of political units are all examples of this category.[5]

Our definition of social conflict also states that attitudes accompany such behavior include hostility and negative images or stereotypes. Coders finding discussions of such attitudes in our textbook sample scored them as Low Intensity.

Step Four:

Coders next determined the attitude of the textbook author for each instance of social conflict appearing within the context of any of the four categories of social interaction we have formulated.

Using the principles of "evaluative assertion analysis"[6] coders assigned textbook treatment scores based on the language

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[5] LeVine (1961) points out that these behaviors involve culture patterns which, "while indicative of actual or potential conflict, may be so successful in preventing more disruptive forms from occurring that they must be considered under the heading of conflict control as well." p. 7.

[6] An instrument devised by Osgood, Saporta, and Nunally enables the evaluation of an evaluative assertion through the connection of an evaluative term of variable direction and intensity (good, bad, neglected, loved) to a subject (President Nixon, policeman, duties) by means of a connector of varying direction and intensity (is, is not, may be). To determine the evaluations of a subject in a text, all the evaluative assertions are extracted from the text and converted into subject-verb-complement. The evaluative terms and the connectors are weighted by the analyst to determine the intensity and direction of the assertions -- in

the author used in describing social conflict. A seven point differential scale was constructed as follows:[7]

Author's Attitude toward Related Conflict

+3 Extremely Favorable
+2 Quite Favorable
+1 Slightly Favorable
0 Neutral
-1 Slightly Unfavorable
-2 Quite Unfavorable
-3 Extremely Unfavorable.

Osgood, Saporta and Nunnally point out that in applying "evaluative assertion analysis" certain assumptions are made. We list three here, for they also apply to our content analysis scheme.

> "(1) That attitude objects in messages can be distinguished from common meaning materials by reasonably sophisticated users of English.
>
> "(2) That reasonably sophisticated users of English can make reliable and valid judgments as to when two alternative constructions are equivalent or non-equivalent in meaning.
>
> "(3) That reasonably sophisticated users of English can agree to a satisfactory degree on the direction and intensity of assertions."[8]

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our case the author's attitude toward the social conflict as expressed in his textbook. The original instrument appeared in Charles E. Osgood, Sol Saporta, and Jum C. Nunnally. Evaluative assertion analysis, Litera, 3, 1953, pp. 47-102. We are also indebted to Pratt (1971) for his brief description of the technique, and his further refinements of its application. David Pratt, "Value Judgments in Textbooks: The Coefficient of Evaluation as a Quantitative Measure," Interchange, vol. 2, no. 3, 1971, pp. 1-14.

[7]This seven point scale was developed and standardized by Holsti, op. cit., 1969. Also see: James G. Snider and Charles E. Osgood, Semantic Differential Technique, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969.

[8]Osgood, Saporta and Nunnally, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

The following examples guided the coders in making their judgments about the treatment authors accorded social conflict:

If a textbook author strongly endorsed the social conflict as mentioned as constructive to society the score of +3 was assigned.

If the conflict is described in positive terms, but as requiring much collective effort and cost it was scored +2.

A +1 score was assigned if the conflict is described as causing good things, but involving great risks.

A score of 0 was given to noncommital descriptions of social conflict where it was impossible to discern any value assertions.

A description of social conflict that emphasizes the costs and negative aspects, but nothing else was scored -1.

A description stressing the disruptive aspects of social conflict as outweighing any possible social gains was scored -2.

If social conflict is presented as completely undesirable and to be avoided by all possible means it was scored -3.

Step Five:

For the final step in our analysis coders determined the degree of resolution presented in connection with each instance of social conflict mentioned in the textbooks. The language was analyzed paragraph by paragraph and each discussion of social conflict was assigned to one of the following categories:

1. Resolved
2. Near Resolution
3. Far from Resolution
4. Not Resolvable
5. Not Discussed

Category 1 was assigned to descriptions of social conflict that no longer exists. Such instances are usually written in the past tense.

Category 2 included descriptions of social conflict receiving attention that will in time eliminate the problem. Angry debates about air pollution that have brought stronger anti-smog laws, for example.

Category 3 was assigned to social conflict described as requiring great effort over a long period of time before any significant progress can be made toward alleviating it. Here an example would be a discussion of racial equality that raised all the social obstacles such as the inequalities in education, income and housing plaguing our society.

Category 4 was assigned to discussions of social conflict if they are presented as a universal part of human interaction that must be continually coped with. A discussion of the hostilities engendered by individuals who choose to violate the social norms of the majority culture would be an example fitting this category.

Category 5 was used for descriptions of social conflict that do not include any consideration of its resolution.

Hypotheses

This study was guided by the general hypothesis that many recent social studies texts widely used in elementary and junior high school across the country consistently present an unrealistic description of American society that stresses harmony and consensus while minimizing references to social defects and conflict, and in so doing fail to acknowledge and build upon the political knowledge and attitudes of children.

Using a stratified national sample of social studies textbooks adopted by eight states for 1971-72 for grades three, five and nine we tested our general hypothesis by the following specific hypotheses.

1. Of the number of instances of social interaction mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances that do not mention related social conflict as compared with the percentage of instances that do mention social conflict.

2 There will be no difference between the number of references to social conflict in social studies textbooks for grades three, five or nine.

3. Of the number of instances of social interaction mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances of social conflict falling in the low intensity category as compared to medium and high intensity categories.

4. Of the number of instances of social conflict mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances of authors taking a neutral attitude toward the social conflict they mention as compared to taking either a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward it.

5. Of the number of instances of social conflict mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances presented as being either resolved or near resolution as compared with instances presented as either far from resolution or not resolvable.

(For each hypothesis, significant statistical differences were defined as the probability that the differences found were due to chance less than five percent of the time. Details of our statistical procedures are given in Appendix A.)

Inter-Coder Reliability

An inter-coder reliability of approximately 80% was established for this study by employing three Stanford University graduate students in Social Studies Education who were thoroughly trained in the use of our "Content Analysis Scheme."

A coefficient of reliability for Coder 1 was established at 0.89.

For Coder 2 and Coder 3 the coefficient of reliability was established at 0.87 and 0.90 respectively.

In order to correct for any inter-coder agreement resulting from chance we applied Scott's formula $(pi)^9$ to determine an index of relia-

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[9] W. A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," Public Opinion Quarterly, 19, 1955, pp. 321-325.

bility for each of the three Coders. The three (pi) scores were 0.82 for Coder 1, and 0.79 for both Coders 2 and 3. Thus the over-all inter-coder reliability coefficient of 80% reported above. In addition to achieving virtually the same degree for all three coders, our scores are well within the acceptable levels established by content analysis experts.[10] (The complete statistical procedures we used to determine our inter-coder reliability are discussed in Appendix A.)

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[10] Paisley considers 80% to 90% the acceptable level coefficient of reliability and 0.60 to 0.80 the acceptable level for pi. Leonardo De La Cruz, "An Analysis of Philippine Social Studies Textbooks," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1970.

CHAPTER IV

MAJOR FINDINGS

Mentions of Social Issues and Social Conflict

This study was designed to determine the extent to which third, fifth and ninth grade social studies textbooks discuss four broad areas of social interaction and the ways in which the issues and the social conflict associated with these areas are presented to the young reader.

It is clear from the results shown in Table 1, that the overwhelming majority of the written content of our national textbook sample does not deal with the four racial, economic, political and ecological categories we have identified as important areas of study.

Only 21% of the over 17 thousand paragraphs coded in our third grade sample refer to our categories in some way, an average of only 4-1/4% per category. There is some variation among the treatment of the four categories, however, with economic topics being mentioned most often and "Political Negotiations and Processes" the least often.

The fifth grade texts have only 9% of their content devoted to our categories, with "Ecological Practices" receiving the greatest amount of coverage and the political area the least. American History is commonly taught in fifth grades across the country with an emphasis on developments prior to the twentieth century, but since our analysis included only textual content concerning contemporary American society, the 14 thousand paragraphs coded for grade five are equally comparable with those coded for the other two grades.

With 48%, grade nine texts have the greatest percentage of their content devoted to our four categories. Since "civics" is taught almost universally in American schools at the ninth grade it is not surprising that our political category received the largest percentage of coverage at this level, however, when we look at individual textbooks we find that four of the nineteen in our sample contain no paragraphs whatsoever that fall within the area "Political Negotiations and Processes" as we have defined them (see Table 8).

Although textbook coverage of the areas of social interaction we have selected seems low, it appears that there is no established criterion

at this time to determine what is adequate. However, once we find these areas included in textbooks we can examine the ways in which they are treated.

Turning again to Table 1, we see that regardless of what area of social interaction is being mentioned -- it is rarely presented as including related social conflict.

Of all the paragraphs in our third grade sample that deal with the four potentially conflict-producing areas, only one percent of them include any suggestion that social conflict might be involved. Moreover, what little conflict does appear seems to be unrelated to the actual social situation in this country. For example, race relations are presented as involving only slightly more conflict than ecological issues -- 0.14% compared to 0.13%. Although our "political Negotiations and Processes" category is presented in the third grade texts we analyzed with a greater percentage of social conflict mentions -- the total still amounts to only 0.47% of the references.

Fifth grade social studies texts were found to include the largest percentage of references to social conflict among the three grades sampled with 3%. In other words, 97% was the smallest percentage of "conflict free" references in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine that discussed any or all of our four categories of social interaction.

Although the ninth grade "civics" texts we analyzed were obviously written for the oldest audience of the three grades in our sample, only 2% of their references to social interaction areas include mentions of social conflict. As Table 1 indicates, economic issues are presented as having the most social conflict (0.91%), and ecological issues are presented as virtually without conflict in our society (0.01%). While our "Political Negotiations and Processes" category received over 7 thousand paragraphs of coverage in our ninth grade sample, only 184 paragraphs (0.65%) included any references to social conflict.

In order to test our first hypothesis,

> Of the number of instances of social interaction mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances that do not mention related social conflict as compared with the percentage of instances that do mention social conflict.

We need only look at the total percentages in Table 1 to see that it is obviously confirmed.

TABLE 1

Percentage of Paragraphs Devoted to Four Social Issues

Categories of Social Interaction	Reference to Social Issues			Reference to Related Conflict		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
Race and Ethnic Relations	5* (845)[a]	2 (331)	3 (803)	0.14 (25)	1.00 (159)	0.50 (142)
Distribution of Income, Goods and Services	8 (1364)	2 (304)	17 (4854)	0.23 (42)	0.46 (68)	0.91 (257)
Political Negotiations and Processes	3 (492)	1 (112)	25 (7014)	0.47 (85)	0.12 (19)	0.65 (184)
Ecological Practices	5 (931)	4 (547)	3 (744)	0.13 (24)	0.98 (145)	0.01 (4)
Total Percentages	21	9	48	1	3	2
Total Mentions	(3632)	(1294)	(13415)	(176)	(391)	(587)
Total Paragraphs	17,726	14,654	28,074			

a = n's in parentheses

Total books coded = 18 (Grade 3), 17 (Grade 5), and 19 (Grade 9).

*Figures over 1% rounded off to nearest percent.

Our second hypothesis reads,

> There will be no difference between the number of references to social conflict in social studies texts used in grades three, five or nine.

Although the difference is quite small in some cases, Table 1 indicates that our categories were not treated in the same manner in relation to social conflict by the three grades we studied. Considerably more conflict was mentioned in relation to racial issues in fifth grade texts than by those in either our third or ninth grade sample. Of the three grades, the highest percentage of related conflict for both our economics and political categories appears in grade nine texts. For our ecology category, we found that the fifth grade books we analyzed have the largest percentage of mentioned related conflict.

In order to statistically test our second hypothesis category by category for each of the three grades studied we subjected our data to a one way analysis of variance. The results of the analysis appear as Tables 2 through 13. Differences reported as "nonsignificant" failed to attain the $p > .05$ level.

Tables 2 through 13 consist of a three part analysis of our findings for each of the textbooks analyzed. We present three tables for each grade. The first indicates the number of paragraphs individual books devote to each of our four categories.[1] The second table indicates the number of paragraphs that mention social conflict in conjunction with each category. Our last table for each category indicates the percentage of paragraphs devoted to the category that also mention social conflict.

What follows is a description of our findings for each category. As Tables 2 through 13 indicate, our second hypothesis was only confirmed for our economics category. Our racial, political and ecological categories did not have the same number of references to social conflict in the third, fifth and ninth grade texts we analyzed. Therefore, in three out of four cases our second hypothesis was not confirmed.

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[1]The paragraph intervals differ from table to table because of the wide range of difference in the number of paragraphs devoted to our four categories.

Treatment of Race and Ethnic Relations

Table 2, Paragraphs Devoted to Race and Ethnic Relations, shows that 7 textbooks in the third grade and 6 in the fifth grade samples have no paragraphs devoted to this category, while all the ninth grade books have at least some content on racial issues. Our first paragraph interval (1 to 29) has the largest number of texts falling within it -- three for grade three, six for grade five and eleven for grade nine. Both the third and fifth grades have 3 texts that devote from 30 to 59 paragraphs to this area, and grade nine has four books that fall into the same paragraph interval. All three grade levels have two books that have from 60 to 89 paragraphs, and grade three and nine also have one text each with 90 to 119 paragraphs devoted to race and ethnic relations as we have defined them. In addition, both the third and ninth grades have one text with paragraphs on this topic numbering between 180 and 209, and grade three has one book with 240 to 269 paragraphs that deal with "Race and Ethnic Relations." In terms of over-all coverage our data indicates that this first category received approximately the same amount of coverage in social studies texts for grades three, five and nine.

Table 3, Paragraphs Devoted to Social Conflict in Race and Ethnic Relations, clearly shows that the third grade textbooks we analyzed have very little content that mentions social conflict in connection with this topic; whereas grades five and nine both have a small number of paragraphs about conflict spread among several books.

Grade five has the widest range of treatment of this category with nine different books falling into six different paragraph intervals.

Grade nine has the single text with the greatest number of social conflict mentions (45 to 49 paragraphs) as well as the fewest books that mention "Race and Ethnic Relations" without mentioning any related social conflict whatsoever.

It is data drawn from our fifth grade sample that accounts for the significant difference in the findings reported in Table 3.

Table 4, Percentage of Paragraphs Devoted to Race and Ethnic Relations that Mention Social Conflict, indicates the relatively small amount of social conflict mentions in grade three texts as compared to the treatment of this social interaction category found in texts for grades five and nine.

The percentage of paragraphs mentioning social conflict for each of our four categories was determined by dividing the number of paragraphs mentioning social conflict in conjunction with a category by the total number of paragraphs devoted to that same category.

TABLE 2

Paragraphs Devoted to
Race and Ethnic Relations

Number of Paragraphs per Text	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
0	7	6	
1 - 29	3	6	11
30 - 59	3	3	4
60 - 89	2	2	2
90 - 119	1		1
120 - 149			
150 - 179			
180 - 209	1		1
210 - 239			
240 - 269	1		
270 - 299			
Total Textbooks	18	17	19

The average number of paragraphs per text does not differ significantly among grades at the 5% level.

TABLE 3

Paragraphs Devoted to Social Conflict in Race and Ethnic Relations

Number of Paragraphs per Text	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
0	13	8	3
1 - 4	3		6
5 - 9	2	2	7
10 - 14		3	
15 - 19		1	1
20 - 24		1	1
25 - 29			
30 - 34		1	
35 - 39			
40 - 44		1	
45 - 49			1
Total Textbooks	18	17	19

Counting only those paragraphs devoted to Race and Ethnic Relations which mention social conflict the average number of paragraphs per text is significantly different in the three grades at the 5% level.

The books analyzed for tables presenting percentage figures, therefore, include only those with paragraphs that mention social conflict in conjunction with one of our social interaction categories. Thus on Table 4, the n for grade three = 5, the n for grade five = 11, and the grade nine n = 16. In other words, 13 third grade texts, 6 fifth grade texts and 3 ninth grade texts were not included in this analysis because they ignore "Race and Ethnic Relations," or fail to mention social conflict as being related to this topic.

Table 4, Percentage of Paragraphs Devoted to Race and Ethnic Relations which Mention Social Conflict, indicates that 1% to 9% of the paragraphs that discuss this category in one grade in three texts also mention social conflict, two additional texts do so 10% to 19% of the time, while th last two texts for grade three mention social conflict in conjunction with race and ethnic relations in 20% to 29% of their paragraphs.

To put it another way we can say of the textbooks in our third grade sample: one mentions race and ethnic relations without also mentioning social conflict 91% to 99% of the time, two do so 81% to 90% of the time, and two others do so 71% to 80% of the time.

Although our ninth grade sample has one text that mentions social conflict every time it mentions "Race and Ethnic Relations," more texts with percentages of 50% or higher appear in our fifth grade data. We found two fifth grade texts that mention social conflict in relation to race and ethnic relations from 1% to 9% of the time, one text in the 10% interval, two in the 30% interval, one each in the 40% and 50% intervals, three in the 70% interval, and lastly, one text in the 90% interval.

Thus, it can be said that of the eleven texts analyzed at the fifth grade level, five of them mention related social conflict when discussing our racial category 50% to 99% of the time.

As Table 4 indicates, three-fourths of the sixteen texts in our ninth grade sample devote only 1% to 9% or 10% to 19% of their content on racial issues to social conflict. The other seven texts in the sample have conflict paragraphs in the 20%, 30%, and 40% intervals, one in the 80% interval, and the final one as mentioned earlier falls in the 100% interval.

As the data in Table 2, 3 and 4 show, our second hypothesis predicting that we would find no difference in the amount of content social studies texts for grades three, five and nine devote to social conflict is clearly not confirmed for the category "Race and Ethnic Relations."

Our findings for this first category as well as the other three we identified for this study were influenced by two factors. First, the age of a textbook seems directly related to the number of references it

TABLE 4

Percentage of those Paragraphs Devoted to Race and Ethnic Relations which Mention Social Conflict

Percent	Number of Textbooks Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
1 - 9	1	2	3
10 - 19	2	1	6
20 - 29	2		3
30 - 39		2	1
40 - 49		1	1
50 - 59		1	
60 - 69			
70 - 79		3	
80 - 89			1
90 - 99		1	
100			1
Total Textbooks	5	11	16

Considering only those texts in which at least one paragraph was devoted to Race and Ethnic Relations the average percentage of paragraphs per text is significantly different in the three grades at the 5% level.

includes to social conflict. The fact that the fifth grade texts have the most references to social conflict than the other texts in our sample can be explained in part by the fact that there are more recently published texts at that grade than at the other two grades we studied.[2]

Second, the rationale or format of a text also plays an important role in its treatment of social issues. For example, the third grade texts we analyzed that are the products of national curriculum projects, or were directly influenced by "new social studies" approaches tend to include many more references to social science concepts such as role, class and conflict than do the more traditional texts that focus on how a house is built, the dairy farm, and the fireman.[3] Since social studies at the fifth grade is generally American History, and Civics or American Government at the ninth grade, we would expect texts for these levels to be different in format. It could be argued that a history text would be more likely to discuss contemporary problems related to the categories of social interaction we selected for this study more than a "civics" text because of the nature of the subject matter. However, the fact that the ninth grade texts we analyzed have fewer references to social conflict in relation to our racial and ecological categories than do our fifth grade texts, and only a slightly higher proportion of its "Political Negotiations and Processes" coverage also mentioning social conflict as compared to grade three (0.65% for grade nine and 0.47% for grade three) clearly indicates the conservative and unrealistic nature of the "civics" material that is currently being taught in American schools.

Treatment of Income, Goods and Services[4]

Table 5, Paragraphs Devoted to Income, Goods and Services, is the first of the three tables we present for this category. As with the first category of social interaction, we can see that most of the textbooks we analyzed also include some content on economic issues, although

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[2]A complete bibliography of all the textbooks analyzed for this study appears as Appendix B.

[3]Examples of the former are: Center for the Study of Instruction, The Social Sciences: Concepts and Values, and Social Science Staff of the Educational Research Council of America, The Metropolitan Community. Examples of the more traditional type are: E. Thomas, Your Towns and Cities, and Preston, et al., Communities at Work.

[4]The complete title of this category is the "Distribution of Income, Goods and Services," but for the sake of brevity the first two words have been deleted from our discussion.

the number of paragraphs is quite small for the third and fifth grades. Eight third grade books and fifteen fifth grade books devote only 1 to 74 paragraphs to this topic. In addition, our third grade sample includes five books that have from 75 to 149 paragraphs, and two books with 225 to 299 paragraphs on the topic. Our ninth grade texts have a much wider range of treatment with all of them including some coverage on "Income, Goods and Services" as we have defined it. The total ninth grade sample breaks down as follows: four texts have from 1 to 74 paragraphs on the topic, one has from 75 to 149, four have from 150 to 224, three have from 225 to 229, two have from 300 to 374, and finally, there is one each in the 450 to 524 and 600 to 674 intervals.

Table 6, Paragraphs Devoted to Social Conflict in Distribution of Income, Goods and Services, shows that there is very little social conflict mentioned about economic issues -- especially in the third and fifth texts we analyzed. Only five books in our third grade sample mention any social conflict on this topic whatsoever, and then only 1 to 29 paragraphs. Eleven grade five texts mention social conflict, but all of them do so in 14 paragraphs or less.

Ten of the ninth grade texts that mention social conflict in relation to our economic category also limit their discussions to 14 paragraphs or less. In addition, there are three ninth grade books with paragraphs on this topic falling into the consecutive intervals of 15 to 29, 30 to 44, and 45 to 59, and one last text in the 105 to 119 paragraph interval.

Although the ninth grade texts we analyzed have the largest percentage of content devoted to economic issues, Table 7, Percentage of Paragraphs Devoted to Distribution of Income, Goods and Services which Mention Social Conflict, indicates that the fifth grade texts in our sample have the largest percentage of social conflict references in this category.

Table 7 also shows that each of the three grades has one textbook in the 100% social conflict interval -- that is, one state-adopted text at the third, fifth and ninth grade mentions social conflict every time they refer to "Income, Goods and Services."

Although fewer third grade texts mention social conflict in conjunction with our category "Income, Goods and Services," Table 7 indicates that there is no significant difference in the percentages of social conflict mentions for grade three, five and nine. Therefore, our second hypothesis is confirmed for this category.

TABLE 5

Paragraphs Devoted to Distribution of Income, Goods and Services

Number of Paragraphs per Text	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
0	3	2	
1 - 74	8	15	4
75 - 149	5		1
150 - 224			4
225 - 299	2		3
300 - 374			2
375 - 449			3
450 - 524			1
525 - 599			
600 - 674			1
675 - 724			
Total Textbooks	18	17	19

The average number of paragraphs per text differs significantly among grades at the 5% level.

TABLE 6

Paragraphs Devoted to Social Conflict
In Distribution of Income, Goods and Services

Number of Paragraphs per Text	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
0	13	6	5
1 - 14	4	11	10
15 - 29	1		1
30 - 44			1
45 - 59			1
60 - 74			
75 - 89			
90 - 104			
105 - 119			1
120 - 134			
135 - 149			
Total Textbooks	18	17	19

Counting only those paragraphs devoted to Distribution of Income, Goods and Services which mention social conflict the average number of paragraphs per text is not significantly different in the three grades at the 5% level.

TABLE 7

Percentage of those Paragraphs Devoted to Distribution of Income, Goods and Services which Mention Social Conflict

Percent	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
1 - 9	3		9
10 - 19		3	2
20 - 29	1		1
30 - 39		3	
40 - 49		2	1
50 - 59		2	
60 - 69			
70 - 79			
80 - 89			
90 - 99			
100	1	1	1
Total Textbooks	5	11	14

Considering only those texts in which at least one paragraph was devoted to Distribution of Income, Goods and Services the average percentage of paragraphs per text is not significantly different in the three grades at the 5% level.

Treatment of Political Negotiations and Processes

Table 8, Paragraphs Devoted to Political Negotiations and Processes, indicates that political issues receive very little coverage in third and fifth grade social studies textbooks. Almost half of our third grade sample does not even mention this category as we have defined it, and 9 of the 17 books analyzed for grade five are also without such references. Even grade nine -- a level at which social studies classes usually study American government and political systems -- has four texts that do not discuss any of the social interactions involved in the allocation of political resources and selection of political leaders. All of the third and fifth grade texts that do mention "Political Negotiations and Processes" do so in less than 150 paragraphs. There are four texts in our ninth grade sample that also devote the same amount of paragraphs to this category, but in addition it has ten other books spread across five consecutive paragraph intervals ranging from 150 to 299 and from 750 to 899. One ninth grade text also falls in the 1500 to 1649 interval.

It is clear from Table 9, Paragraphs of Social Conflict in Political Negotiations and Processes, that social conflict related to political interaction receives very little coverage in any of the textbooks we analyzed. Of the three grades we studied, however, the ninth has more texts with mentions of social conflict in conjunction with political issues than do either grade three or five. Fourteen of the third grade and ten of the fifth grade sample mention no conflict at all in connection with this category, while seven of the grade nine texts are without mentions of such conflict. Grade nine also has one text with social conflict paragraphs falling into the 150 to 164 interval.

While our ninth grade sample contains more books that mention social conflict in relation to political interaction, the percentages shown in Table 10, Percentage of Paragraphs Devoted to Political Negotiations and Processes which Mention Social Conflict, indicate that its "conflict mentions" make up a much smaller percentage of the total paragraphs devoted to this category than do those in the other two grades. Ten of the twelve ninth grade texts shown in Table 10 have only 1% to 9% of their paragraphs including references to social conflict. Grade three has none at this lowest level, and grade five has only one. The highest social conflict ratio for ninth grade texts is 10% to 19%. Two are in this range. Grade three on the other hand has one text each in the 10%, 30%, 60%, and 80% intervals, and grade five has two each in the 20% and 30% interval, one in the 60% and one in the 100% interval.

The narrow range of social conflict ratios at grade nine accounts for the significant difference between the treatment scores shown in Table 10. It also gives a strong indication of the extent to which civics textbooks fail to discuss political realities.

TABLE 8

Paragraphs Devoted to
Political Negotiations and Processes

Number of Paragraphs per Text	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
0	8	9	4
1 - 149	10	8	4
150 - 299			3
300 - 449			2
450 - 599			1
600 - 749			1
750 - 899			3
900 - 1049			
1050 - 1199			
1200 - 1349			
1350 - 1499			
1500 - 1649			
Total Textbooks	18	17	19

The average number of paragraphs per text differs significantly among grades at the 5% level.

TABLE 9

Paragraphs Devoted to Social Conflict in Political Negotiations and Processes

Number of Paragraphs per Text	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
0	14	10	7
1 - 14		7	8
15 - 29	3		2
30 - 44	1		
45 - 59			
60 - 74			
75 - 89			1
90 - 104			
105 - 119			
120 - 134			
135 - 149			
150 - 164			1
Total Textbooks	18	17	19

Counting only those paragraphs devoted to Political Negotiations and Practices which mention social conflict the average number of paragraphs per text is not significantly different in the three grades at the 5% level.

TABLE 10

Percentage of those Paragraphs Devoted to Political Negotiations and Processes which Mention Social Conflict

Percent	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
1 - 9		1	10
10 - 19	1		2
20 - 29		2	
30 - 39	1	2	
40 - 49			
50 - 59			
60 - 69	1	1	
70 - 79			
80 - 89	1		
90 - 99			
100		1	
Total Textbooks	4	7	12

Considering only those texts in which at least one paragraph was devoted to Political Negotiations and Practices the average percentage of paragraphs per text is significantly different in the three grades at the 5% level.

Treatment of Ecological Practices

The number of paragraphs devoted to "Ecological Practices" is relatively the same for books in all three of the grades we analyzed. As Table 11, Paragraphs Devoted to Ecological Practices, indicates, grade nine has the most that fail to mention this topic -- eight in all -- while four books for grade five and only one book for grade three do not have any coverage of ecological practices.

The textbook with the largest amount of content on "Ecological Practices" -- 200 to 219 paragraphs -- has been adopted for grade three. All three grades have several texts falling within the five intervals that start with 20 to 39 and end with 100 to 119. Both grades three and five each have ten such books and grade nine has eleven. Over-all, our three grades devoted approximately the same amount of their content to our "Ecological Practices" category.

Differences in the amount of mentioned conflict for the three grades we studied can be seen in Table 12, Paragraphs Devoted to Social Conflict in Ecological Practices. Grade five texts clearly have more social conflict mentions in relation to ecology than do either those in grades three or nine. While fourteen of the texts in our third grade sample do not mention any social conflict in relation to this topic, sixteen of the nineteen grade nine texts analyzed don't either. Of all the third grade texts that do include conflict, one has from 1 to 4 paragraphs and three others have from 5 to 9 paragraphs.

The larger number of paragraphs mentioning social conflict in our fifth grade sample are spread from four texts with paragraphs in the 1 to 4 interval, to one each in the 5 to 9 and 10 to 14 paragraph intervals. There are also two texts with 15 to 19 paragraphs that mention social conflict in relation to ecology at the fifth grade, and finally one book each in the 40 to 44 and 45 to 49 paragraphs intervals.

Grade nine has the smallest number of books that mention social conflict in relation to "Ecological Practices" with three. All three of these ninth grade books have only 1 to 4 paragraphs as shown in Table 12.

Table 13, Percentage of Paragraphs Devoted to Ecological Practices which Mention Social Conflict, presents our data in intervals of 7.5% instead of 10% as in our other tables because of the very low amount of social conflict mentioned in relation to this category. Even so, the book with the greatest percentage of its coverage devoted to ecology with reference to social conflict appears in the 75% interval for grade three. Our third grade sample also has two books with 7.5% to 15% conflict mentions for this topic.

TABLE 11

Paragraphs Devoted to Ecological Practicies

Number of Paragraphs per Text	Number of Textbooks: Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
0	4	4	8
1 - 19	2	3	
20 - 39	3	6	2
40 - 59	4	1	2
60 - 79	1	1	3
80 - 99	1	1	3
100 - 119	1	1	1
120 - 138	1		
140 - 159			
160 - 179			
180 - 199			
200 - 219	1		
Total Textbooks	18	17	19

The average number of paragraphs per text does not differ significantly among grades at the 5% level.

TABLE 12

Paragraphs Devoted to Social Conflict in Ecology Practices

Number of Paragraphs per Text	Number of Textbooks Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
0	14	7	16
1 - 4	1	4	3
5 - 9	3	1	
10 - 14		1	
15 - 19		2	
20 - 24			
25 - 29			
30 - 34			
35 - 39			
40 - 44		1	
45 - 49		1	
50 - 54			
Total Textbooks	18	17	19

Counting only those paragraphs devoted to Ecological Practices which mention social conflict the average number of paragraphs per text is significantly different in the three grades at the 5% level.

The fifth grade mentions of ecology include more social conflict, and in larger percentages than do those for grades three and nine. Of the ten texts mentioning ecology in our fifth grade sample we found two with less than 7.5% conflict mentions, plus eight more falling within the eight consecutive percentage intervals ranging from 7.5% to 52.5% conflict mentions in relation to "Ecological Practices."

All of the three texts that mention social conflict in relation to ecology for grade nine do so in percentages of less than 7.5%.

The one third grade text with the relatively high percentage of social conflict in relation to mentions of "Ecological Practices," and the larger amount of over-all conflict mentions in the fifth grade texts account for the significant difference in the data presented in Table 13.

Our second hypothesis in relation to "Ecological Practices," as it was with "Political Negotiations and Practices" is not confirmed by our findings.

Intensity of Mentioned Social Conflict

Our third hypothesis reads as follows:

> Of the number of instances of social interaction mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances of social conflict falling in the low intensity category as compared to medium and high intensity categories.

Every reference to social conflict in connection with any of our four categories of social interaction was assigned a score on a three degree intensity scale. The results of our analysis are presented in Table 14, Intensity of Mentioned Social Conflict.

The first graph in Table 14 shows that 1% of the social conflict mentioned by third grade texts is of high intensity, 18% of it is of medium intensity, and the remaining 81% low intensity.

Grade five has somewhat more high intensity conflict mentions with 6%, more medium intensity conflict (42%), and as a result less lower intensity mentions with 52%.

While the ninth grade has slightly more high intensity social conflict material than grade five -- 7% as compared to 6%, it also has more low intensity mentions than grade five (57% vis-a-vis 52%). The medium intensity social conflict score is 36%.

TABLE 13

Percentage of those Paragraphs Devoted to Ecological Practices which Mention Social Conflict

Percent*	Number of Textbooks		
	Grade 3	Grade 5	Grade 9
1.0 - 7.4	1	2	3
7.5 - 14.9	2	1	
15.0 - 22.4		2	
22.5 - 29.9		1	
30.0 - 37.4		1	
37.5 - 44.4		1	
45.5 - 52.4		1	
52.5 - 59.9		1	
60.0 - 67.4			
67.5 - 69.9			
75.0 - 82.4	1		
Total Textbooks	4	10	3

Considering only those texts in which at least one paragraph was devoted to Ecological Practices the average percentage of paragraphs per text is significantly different in the three grades at the 5% level.

*Intervals of 7.5% were used for this data rather than intevals of 10%, as used in our other tables, because of the low amount of social conflict mentioned in conjunction with Ecological Practices.

It is quite obvious from the data we present in Table 14 that most of the social conflict presented in social studies textbooks is of low intensity and that our third hypothesis is confirmed.

It is also clear that our four categories of social interaction received some strikingly different treatments in terms of the intensity of related social conflict. Our findings indicate that the textbooks authors of the sample we studied apparently see more intense social conflict in the area of "Race and Ethnic Relations" than in any of the other three areas of social interaction we chose to study.[5]

The only social conflict of high intensity mentioned in any of the third grade social studies textbooks we analyzed appears in the area of race relations. The overwhelming mentions of social conflict for this category is of low intensity (88%), but the percentage of high intensity mentions is twice that of the medium intensity mentions -- 8% compared to 4%.

"Race and Ethnic Relations" is also the only category in which we found mentions of high intensity conflict in grade five texts. In fact, the 15% high intensity conflict reported for grade five is higher than any percentage at that degree of intensity for any category at any grade level.

Both the fifth and ninth grades have 42% of their conflict mentions in the medium intensity range, but the low intensity mentions are greater in the latter case -- 47% as compared to 43% for grade five.

As indicated in Table 14, the only high intensity social conflict mentioned in connection with "Distribution of Income, Goods and Services" was found in our ninth grade sample, and it was limited to 9%. The majority of the social conflict mentioned for this category for grades three and five are of low intensity. Sixty-six percent for grade three and 69% for grade five. The low intensity mentions are only slightly more than the medium intensity mentions for our grade nine data -- 46% compared to 45%.

Every mention of social conflict in relation to "Political Negotiations and Processes" is of low intensity in the third grade textbooks we analyzed. Our fifth grade data for this topic is almost evenly split between low (58%), and medium intensity social conflict (42%). Although 1% of the conflict mentions in grade nine are of high intensity, the large majority of them are of low intensity (81%).

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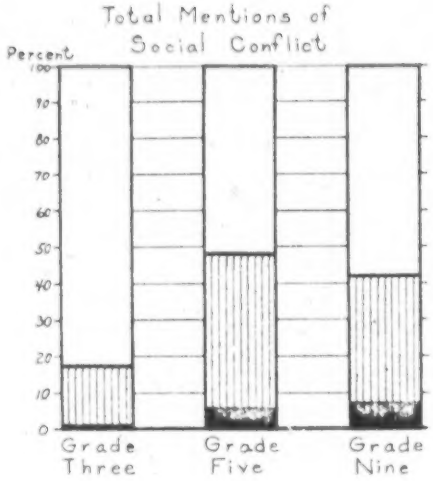
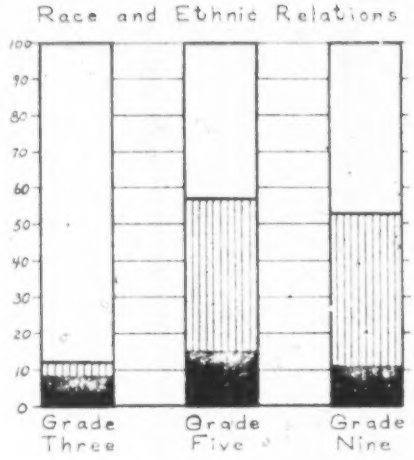
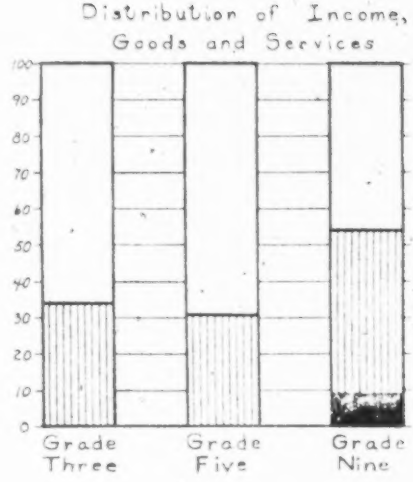
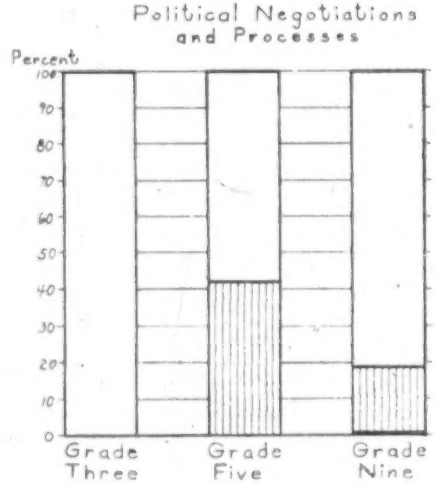
[5]All of the data reported in Tables 14, 15 and 16 were subjected to chi square tests. Our third, fourth and fifth hypotheses were either confirmed or not confirmed on the basis of these tests at the > .05 level.









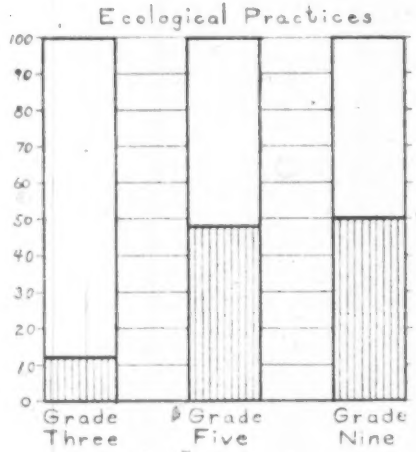
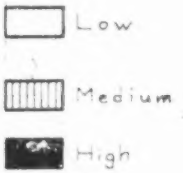


Table 14.

Intensity of Mentioned Social Conflict



Our "Ecological Practices" category is the only one of the four that has absolutely no mentions of high intensity social conflict for any of the grades we studied. Eighty-eight percent of the third grade mentions are of low intensity -- the remaining 12% are, of course, of medium intensity. The social conflict mentions for grades five and nine are approximately one-half low intensity and one-half medium intensity conflict with 52%-42% for the former and exactly 50%-50% for the latter.

Regardless of what topic we considered or what grade level is singled out, the state adopted social studies textbooks we analyzed tend to avoid mentioning any social conflict with degrees of high intensity.

Author's Attitude toward Mentioned Social Conflict

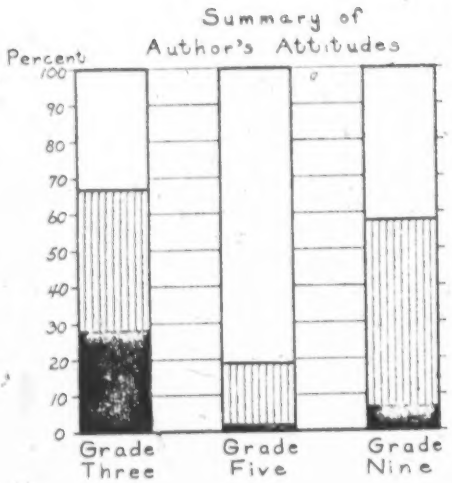
We predicted as our fourth hypothesis that,

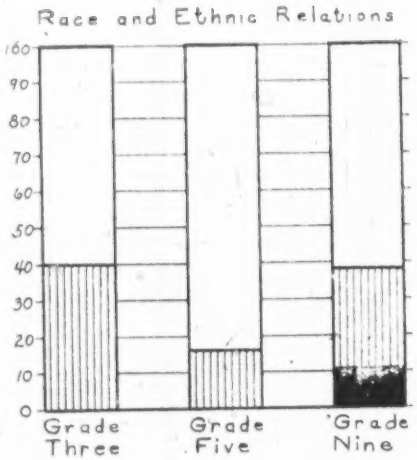
> Of the number of instances of social conflict mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances of authors taking a neutral attitude toward the social conflict they mention as compared to taking either a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward it.

Turning to Table 15, Author's Attitude toward Mentioned Social Conflict, we see that the percentage of neutral mentions is larger than either the percentages of favorable or unfavorable mentions for grade three (39%) and grade nine (51%), but not for grade five. In fact, 81% of the times authors of fifth grade texts expressed a value position about social conflict they described it in unfavorable terms. For the third and ninth grades the percentages of unfavorable mentions were 38% and 42% respectively. And while the fifth grade texts contained favorable attitudes about social conflict only 2% of the time, 28% of the third grade, 7% of the ninth grade mentions were favorably disposed.

In general it can be said that the authors of the texts we analyzed clearly did not intend to present social conflict as a positive constructive force in our society. Surprisingly enough, however, when social conflict was found to be presented favorably it was in texts written for third grade readers.

Our fourth hypothesis was supported by our findings for grades three and nine, but it was not confirmed because of our findings for grade five. Eighty-one percent of the times social conflict was mentioned in fifth grade texts it was presented in unfavorable terms, even though as shown in Table 14, over half (52%) of the conflict mentioned for this grade is of low intensity.





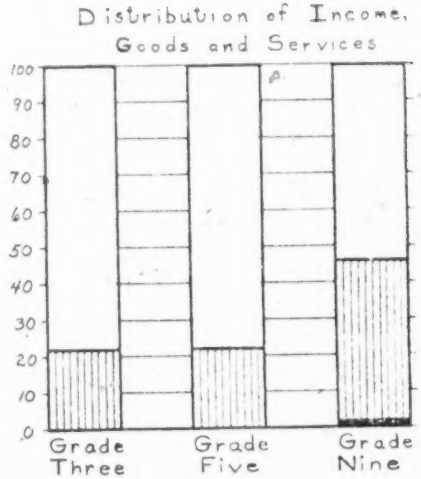
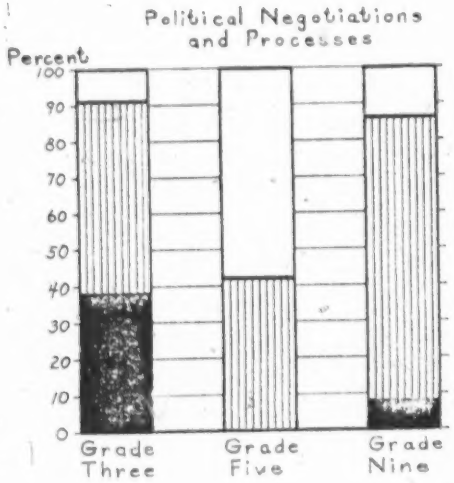
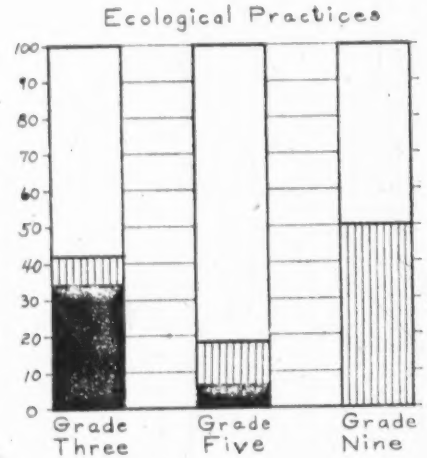
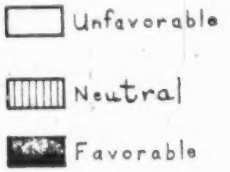


Table 15.





Author's Attitude Toward Mentioned Social Conflict



Taking our categories individually we find on Table 15 that none of the social conflict related to "Race and Ethnic Relations" in the third or fifth grade texts we analyzed is presented in favorable terms. Sixty percent of the conflict is treated as unfavorable by the authors of our third grade sample -- while we were unable to discern their attitudes for the remaining 40% of the texts.

As was pointed out earlier when discussing Table 14, the largest percentage of high intensity conflict for any category at any grade level was found in the content grade five texts devote to our "Race and Ethnic Relations" category. It is interesting to note that this same category and grade level has the largest percentage of scores at the unfavorable end of our author's attitude scale (84%), as well as the smallest percentage of neutral attitude scores of any grade for this category (with 26%).

It would appear that the authors who wrote the fifth grade texts in our sample wanted to describe social conflict as a factor affecting contemporary American life, and to make it clear that social conflict is not a good thing. It could also be that some of the authors felt that any social or historical analysis about the functions of social conflict is inappropriate in a fifth grade social studies text.

The 13% favorable mentions toward racial conflict in our ninth grade texts is shared with 27% neutral and 60% unfavorable expressions.

In our next category, "Distribution of Income, Goods and Services," we see that the ninth grade is again the only one of the three grades we studied that has any favorable references toward social conflict. In this case, however, such references only make-up 2% of the total, with 44% being neutral and 54% being unfavorable. Both the third and fifth grade authors we studied were divided exactly the same on the social conflict they expressed in relation to this category -- 78% unfavorable and 22% neutral.

Our data for our "Political Negotiations and Processes" category is quite different for the three grade levels. Thirty-eight percent of the author's attitudes for grade three is favorable concerning social conflict. This is the highest percentage of favorable instances for any category at any grade level, but it should be pointed out that our third grade sample also has the highest percentage of low intensity of mentioned social conflict for this same category (see Table 14). Unfavorable scores make-up 9% of the third grade total -- smallest for this category -- while 53% of the mentions fell into the neutral range.

Attitude scores for grade five are divided between neutral and unfavorable instances almost evenly -- 42% and 58% respectively.

Our ninth grade sample -- like the other two grade levels -- had no high intensity conflict for this category (see Table 14), but Table 15 indicates that 8% of the author's attitudes analyzed was favorable, 78% was neturaf, and 14% was unfavorable.

With "Ecological Practices" we again see the third grade data indicating more favorable attitudes toward social conflict than do the data for grades five and nine. While no favorable scores are reported for grade nine, and only 6% of the fifth grade scores are favorable -- 34% of the mentions of author's attitudes toward social conflict in relation to ecology were shown to be favorable.

Our fifth grade sample has the largest percentage of unfavorable author's attitude scores in our "Ecological Practices" data with 82%. The third grade is next with 58%, and finally grade nine has the smallest percentage of unfavorable mentions with 50%. The remaining 50% of the ninth grade mentions are devoted to neutral expressions, and the percentage of mentions that fell into our neutral category for the third and fifth grades were 8% and 12% respectively.

Although we expected to find textbook authors reluctant to take positions on whatever social conflict they mentioned when discussing racial, economic, political and ecological issues, our data shows that except for the third and ninth grade scores for "Political Negotiations and Processes," and our ninth grade "Ecological Practices" scores (which were divided in half with unfavorable scores) -- all other expressions of author's attitudes were overwhelmingly at the unfavorable end of our scale.

Categories of Resolution of All Social Conflict Mentions

For the final step in our content analysis scheme we established a resolvability index to ascertain what social studies texts are saying about the adequacy of our institutions to handle and resolve social conflict.

Our last hypothesis which is concerned with this resolvability question reads,

> Of the number of instances of social conflict mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances presented as being either resolved or near resolution as compared with instances presented as either far from resolution or not resolvable.

Table 16, Categories of Resolution of All Social Conflict, shows 80% of all the social conflict mentions for our third grade data falling within the resolved or near resolution category, while only 7% is presented as far from resolution or not resolvable.

In comparison over half (52%) of the fifth grade social conflict mentions were found to be presented as far from resolution or not resolvable, while only one-fourth are treated as resolved or near resolution. The problems discussed in the fifth grade texts we analyzed tended to be presented in terms of their national scope more so than in texts for the other two grades. This is probably true because social studies in the fifth grade is usually American History, and because of the complexity and nature of the two problems discussed most in our fifth grade sample -- race and ethnic relations and ecological practices.

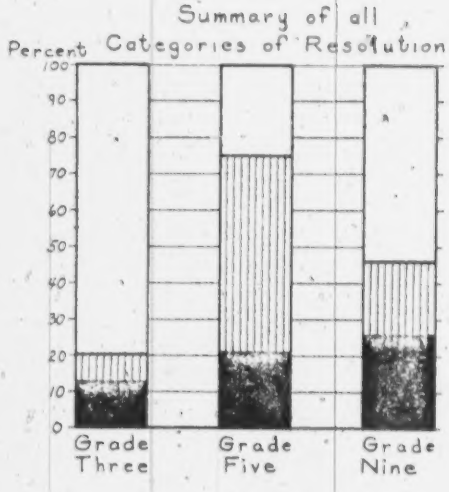
In contrast to the treatment our four areas of social issues received in fifth grade texts, almost every problem or issue mentioned in our ninth grade sample seems to have been anticipated by some governmental agency or service that either prevents or solves them before they become troublesome. As Table 16 indicates the mentions of social conflict appearing for all categories in the ninth grade texts are divided with 54% in the resolved or near resolution category, 20% in the far from resolution or not resolvable category, with the remaining 26% not discussing resolution.

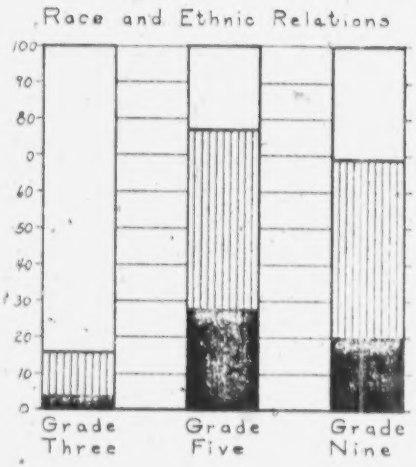
Thus, as Table 16 indicates, our fifth hypothesis was supported by the summary data of our third and ninth grade social conflict mentions, but it was not confirmed because of the high percentage (52%) of "Far from Resolution or Not Resolvable" mentions in the fifth grade textbooks.

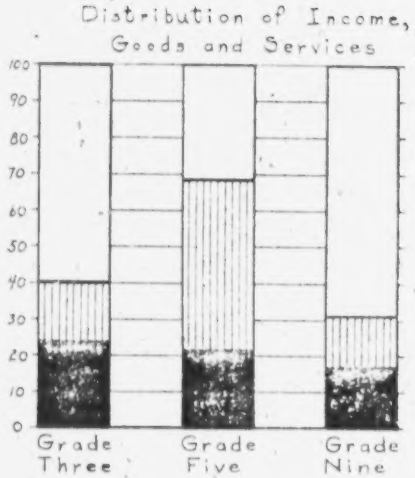
Table 16 also shows that our hypothesis was not confirmed by our fifth and ninth grade data when the area of "Race and Ethnic Relations" is taken separately, because the overwhelming majority of the conflict mentions for grade three (84%) are described as either resolved or near resolution.

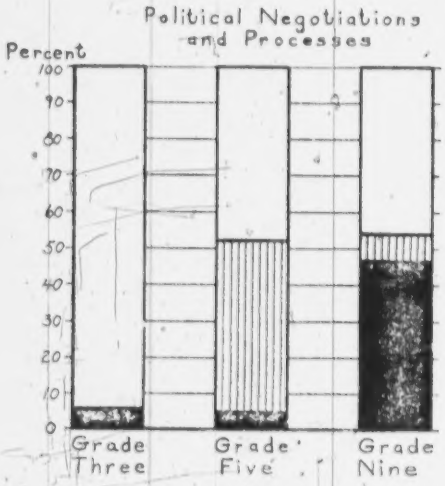
The category, "Distribution of Income, Goods and Services" also has an instance where a larger percentage of social conflict mentions for one grade is in the far from resolution or not resolvable category, although the difference is not as great as with the previous social interaction area.

Grades three and nine have more conflict mentions related to economics in the resolved or near resolution category -- 60% and 69% respectively -- than they have in the far from resolution or not resolvable category -- 16% and 14% respectively. The percentage of instances that do not include discussions of resolvability are very similar in all three grades for this economic topic.









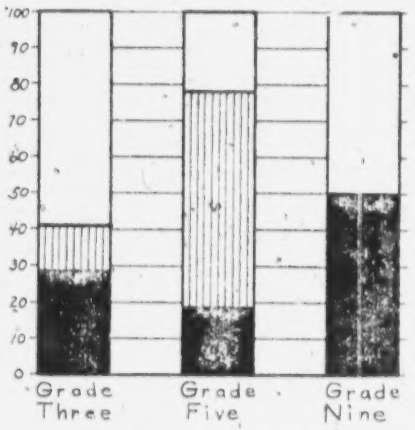
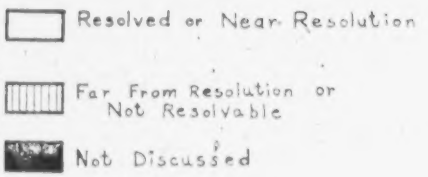


Table 16.

Categories of Resolution of all Social Conflict



The various treatments social conflict received by the three grade levels we studied is most dissimilar for our "Political Negotiations and Processes" topic, although in every case the largest percentages fall in our resolved or near resolution category. The biggest contrasts occur in the third grade, where 6% of the conflict mentions do not mention resolution and the remaining 94% of the mentions are presented in terms of being resolved or near resolution, and in the ninth grade where 42% of the conflict mentions do not include references to resolution as compared to 6% for grade three and 5% for grade five in this category.

The largest percentage of social conflict mentions discussed as being far from resolution or not resolvable for any grade or social interaction topic is found in our fifth grade data. This suggests that the fifth grade texts we analyzed tended to avoid suggesting that there are imminent or simple solutions to the problems and tensions existing in America today.

For the most part, the third and ninth grade texts we analyzed either discussed social conflict in connection with "Ecological Practices" as resolved or near resolution, or they didn't discuss resolution at all. On the other hand, as Table 16 indicates, our fifth grade texts present more social conflict mentions (59%) as far from resolution or not resolvable in relation to ecological issues than does any other grade for any other of our social interaction areas. The nearest percentage in this resolution category is the 49% both the fifth and ninth grades devote to "Race and Ethnic Relations."

It would appear from our findings that authors of social studies textbooks see very little social conflict as being important enough to discuss at any length. The largest percentage of difficult or unresolvable social conflict that we found is presented in relation to race and ethnic relations and ecology, and that was only 49% and 59% of the mentions respectively.

In general, we can say that except for a few outstanding textbooks, the majority of the content we analyzed does not present contemporary American society as it is, nor does it convey any notion of the complexity and seriousness of the problems we face. If nothing else, we feel this study raises the question of whether the systematic inclusion of a distorted view of society can be justified in curriculum materials that are designed to teach children to deal with the clear realities of modern living.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

General Description of the Study

We began this study with the general hypothesis that in spite of the advent of the "new social studies," and the numerous curriculum projects generated under its rubric over the past decade, many of the social studies textbooks currently being adopted across the country consistently present an unrealistic view of American society. This outlook stresses harmony and consensus while minimizing references to social defects and conflict, and in so doing fails to acknowledge and build upon the political knowledge and attitudes of children.

In order to test our general hypothesis we subjected fifty-eight social studies textbooks that are currently being used by eight states across the country for grades three, five and nine to a quantitative and qualitative content analysis designed for this study.

Through our content analysis scheme we were able to determine the number of paragraphs each of the textbooks in our sample devoted to four areas of social interaction in which stress or defects are evident in contemporary American society; a frequency count for the times each instance is described as involving social conflict; an index of the severity of the related conflict; the author's attitude toward the conflict as indicated in his textual descriptions; and finally a resolvability index -- reflecting the adequacy of the social system to accommodate and resolve social conflict. The problem areas we chose to analyze included racial, economic, political and ecological policies and practices. For the purposes of this study we defined "contemporary" as from the year 1945 to the present.

Our general hypothesis was specifically tested by the following five hypotheses:

1. Of the number of instances of social interaction mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances that do not mention related social conflict as compared with the percentage of instances that do mention social conflict.

2. There will be no difference between the number of references to social conflict in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine.

3. Of the number of instances of social interaction mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances of social conflict falling in the low intensity category as compared to medium and high intensity categories.

4. Of the number of instances of social conflict mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances of authors taking a neutral attitude toward the social conflict they mention as compared to taking either a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward it.

5. Of the number of instances of social conflict mentioned in social studies textbooks for grades three, five and nine there will be a greater percentage of instances presented as being either resolved or near resolution as compared with instances presented as either far from resolution or not resolvable.

The four problem areas of social interaction we identified as significant topics of study for social studies curriculum were defined as follows:

I. Race and ethnic relations, which involve the social relationships that exist between the majority white population and groups that are distinguished in this country by their culture or their race.

II. Distribution of income, goods and services, which involve access to the wealth and resources within our society.

III. Political negotiations and processes, which involve the interaction between groups of people, institutions, public officials, and decisions which concern the allocation of political resources or the selection of political leaders.

IV. Ecological practices, which involve the utilization of resources and the preservation of the natural pattern of relations between man and his environment.

The literature we reviewed relevant to this study indicates that many young Americans neither understand or support our basic constitutional liberties. We also noted that social studies education has come under considerable criticism for its alleged contribution to this alarming situation.

It is frequently pointed out that children are continually exposed to tensions and conflict in our society by the mass media -- if not by direct experience. At the same time, social studies materials have been widely criticized for their lack of social realism. A number of writers have called for a frank and thorough examination of all social issues at all grade levels.

Demands for curriculum reform are generally supported by the growing body of research that indicates that children form basic political attitudes early in their elementary school years -- if not before -- and that social studies education can do little to change stereotypic thinking or basic political attitudes at the high school level.

Other writers have pointed out that our democratic system is uniquely equipped to cope with, resolve, and even benefit from social conflict. Since social conflict is inevitable in all societies, it seems reasonable to expect the social studies curriculum to play a major role in helping our young to both understand and deal with it.

We have been encouraged by recent research that indicates that both political knowledge and attitudes -- such as acceptance of political conflict and tolerance for civil liberties -- can be increased by exposing elementary and junior high school students to a more "realistic" social studies curriculum. The data we collected in this study is an attempt to determine the extent to which the state adopted textbooks we analyzed are making a positive contribution to that educational effort.

General Description of the Findings

With very few exceptions, the overall impression taken from the fifty-eight social studies textbooks we analyzed is the relative absence of social issues. When social issues are treated, it is rarely in terms of social conflict. As indicated in Table 1, page 50, three percent is the largest amount of coverage devoted to social conflict for all four of our social interaction areas at any of the three grade levels. There

seems to be very little, if any, investment of human emotion in issues in these texts either -- although the student is encouraged to see them as important. One gets the impression that a real clash over public issues just isn't possible.[1]

Social conflict, when mentioned, is invariably presented as being of low intensity, and it is quite unusual to find an author discussing any positive or constructive aspect of social conflict (see Table 14, page 72).

We also found that, for the most part, authors take no value positions on the presence of the social conflict they write about, or they are overwhelmingly negative and simplistic about it (see Table 15, page 74).

It would seem from the social studies texts we analyzed that American youth are expected to believe that virtually every existing social problem is resolvable with established knowledge and practices (see Table 16, page 78). People in textbooks are pictured as easily getting together, discussing their differences and rationally arriving at decisions. The decisions are presented as compromises for all concerned rather than a defeat for any one side. Everyone accepts the decision. There is no suggestion that people might be embittered or have difficulty accepting a majority decision, or that a majority decision could be wrong.

For the most part, the social studies texts in our sample ignore the whole concept of dissent. The idea that dissent from majority opinions can be a morally creative course of action is absent. So is the perspective that in the long run a dissenter may be proven more correct than the majority and may have his views adopted by that majority at a later time. Willingness to go along with a majority decision for the sake of social order does not necessarily mean that the individual has to give up his own opinion, but you would never know it from most of the textbooks we studied.

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[1] Some exceptions were found in certain texts and for certain issues. For example, the fifth grade text The American Adventure, by Bailey, et al., contains some very frank and realistic content about the ecological problems facing this country. The most consistently candid and thorough treatment of contemporary social problems appear in the six booklet series titled Justice in Urban America. A large number of the mentions of social conflict reported in our data were found in this excellent series. (Complete bibliographical references for all textbooks analyzed appears as Appendix B.)

We were not surprised to find how little coverage is devoted to social conflict in current social studies textbook adoptions. We expected that. However, what did arrest our attention was the similarity of treatment our four problem areas received in textbooks written for a seven year age span. In fact, we found a greater percentage of paragraphs mentioning social conflict in conjunction with racial and ecological issues in fifth grade texts than we did in texts written for grade nine (see Table 1, page 50).

Although experts are far from agreement as to when and where social conflict should be introduced into the curriculum, there is a considerable body of opinion that maintains that the junior high school years are crucial ones for citizenship education, and that at least one measure of the adequacy of curriculum materials at this level is the extent to which they help students achieve a cognitive understanding of the realities of socio-civic life.

Our data shows that the majority of social studies texts -- including those written for grade nine -- do not present social conflict as an inherent part of the democratic process. In almost no case is social conflict presented as contributing to the solution or maintenance of political behavior, but is portrayed for the most part as an undesirable condition that arises when individuals have insufficient information. In textbooks descriptions, once competing parties learn the policy or outcome that will benefit society most -- social conflict is resolved. Conflict resolution, even in the smallest dilemmas, is achieved through democratic processes. Leaving problems to fester or the use of force, intimidation or extra-legal means of dealing with social conflict are rarely, if ever, mentioned in the texts we analyzed.

Conclusions

Taken as a whole, the reoccurring message in the social studies textbooks we studied is clear and familiar; Americans can succeed and resolve ecological problems, racial problems and the unequal distribution of wealth and political strife if they will work within the existing institutions and governmental agencies as did their fathers and their fathers' fathers before them.

We contend that if social studies curriculum adequately took into account the socio-civic knowledge and attitudes of children -- as well as their potential for cognitive and affective change -- they would not avoid social problems and issues, as do most of the textbooks we analyzed. Instead, they would include portrayals of social living that grow increasingly frank and realistic as one moves up through the elementary and junior high school years.

We see the ninth grade as an especially important one to those interested in effective citizenship education. We feel that the all too familiar "civics" textbook commonly used in ninth grade social studies classes that lists page after page of governmental agencies and services that presumably remedy every social ill before they become contagious or even serious, contribute little or nothing toward preparing children to live in a pluralistic and dynamic world.

It is argued by some that children are not yet ready to learn about the real issues of the adult world. Textbooks seem bent on protecting them from these issues. Still, children can hardly escape the presentation of social conflict via the mass media. Is it better to ignore this obvious input of information, or to begin to develop within the school setting textbooks and practices that will help children deal with the clear realities of modern living? We feel that the systematic exclusion of social conflict from social studies textbooks serves no useful purpose in the education of children.

Suggestions for Further Research

As Hess has recently pointed out, it is one thing to point an accusing research finger at a possible flaw in textbooks, but it is much more difficult to find a theory or evidence which would give reason to argue that they should be changed. In relation to social studies curriculum Hess asks,

> Why should not the initial impression that a child gets of his country be that it is benign and that problems can be solved? What are the consequences of a more complete disclosure of our malignancies to the child at an early age?[2]

If anything, children in the future will know more -- not less -- about "our malignancies" than they do at the present. Given the increasing concern about the alienation of the young and the shortcomings of the schools in the area of political education -- we suggest the following areas for further research.

1. To determine the effects of introducing "conflict curriculum" in typical classroom situations, additional research on the order of that reported by

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[2] Hess, 1972, op. cit.

Zellman and Sears[3] needs to be done throughout the country. Such research needs to include widely divergent populations, and should be carried on over an extended period of time at all grade levels.

2. Systematic studies, such as the one we report here, should be conducted on curriculum materials used for different grade levels. The same areas of social interaction we studied could be analyzed, or different areas might be studied as well. Different populations would also be interesting to study; such as textbooks selected without state-wide adoptions as compared with state mandated texts, or inner-city textbooks as compared with those used in suburban areas.

3. Additional experiments should be conducted with what Tapp and Kohlberg[4] have called "experience-based activity involving conflict resolution, problem solving and participation in decision making." (Turner's study Detroit[5] could be instructive here.)

Tapp and Kohlberg maintain that,

> Educational experiences of conflict and participation extend the human's capacity to differentiate and integrate and to contemplate different points of view, in other words, to develop principles for evaluating "right" and "wrong" and perfecting a sense of responsibility, obligation, law, and justice. p. 87.[6]

If "experience-based activity" can produce the capacities Tapp and Kohlberg suggest it can, and textbooks cannot -- all educators should be apprised of the fact.

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[3]Zellman and Sears, 1971, op. cit. The "conflict curriculum" Zellman and Sears used for their experimental treatments stresses the importance and legitimacy of group interests and political conflict, while the traditional curriculum they used for their control groups emphasize only the consensual aspects of the American political system.

[4]Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971, op. cit.

[5]Turner, M. E., 1957, op. cit.

[6]Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971, loc. cit.

It would appear that many of the existing social studies curriculum materials were developed with minimal concern for the cognitive development of their student consumers.

Kohlberg maintains that the "new social studies" curriculums have presupposed formal operational thought, in the Piagetian sense, without attempting to determine at what level of thought the intended student users are operating. He suggests that developmental psychology in general, and his "stages of moral development" in particular, should be utilized to determine where students are cognitively and "morally," as well as to provide theoretical input toward the development of strategies for educating them "upward."[7]

4. Research indicating that young people can be morally trained "upward"[8] suggests that additional content analysis should be done on school curricula in terms of moral and cognitive levels.

5. Finally our research leads us to suggest systematic studies, such as ours, of the socialization messages children are receiving about social conflict and the defects of the social and political institutions in this country in "new social studies" project materials, "ethnic studies" curricula and the mass media.

We suspect that the socialization messages received from such sources may be quite different than the one we found in state adopted textbooks.

The widely used social studies textbooks we analyzed for this study consistently present a social model that emphasizes consensus and harmony. If there are existing social studies curricula that realistically take into account the social conflict present in this country, and the world, the possibility of achieving different student outcomes may be closer at hand than our study would indicate. The suggestions for further research we propose here can aid in the search for such curricula.

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[7] Kohlberg and Gilligan, 1971, op. cit.

[8] J. Rest, E. Turiel and L. Kohlberg, "Level of Moral Development as a Determinant of Preference and Comprehension of Moral Judgments Made by Others," Journal of Personality, June 1969, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 225-252. Also: E. Turiel, "Development Processes in the Child's Moral Thinking," in P. Mussen, et al. (eds.), Trends and Issues in Development Psychology, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

APPENDIX A

Inter-coder Reliability Coefficient

The coefficient of reliability for this study was determined by first finding the ratio of coding agreements to the total number of coding decisions:

$$C.R. = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

In this formula M is the number of coding decisions on which two judges or coders are in agreement, and N_1 and N_2 refer to the number of coding decisions made by judges 1 and 2, respectively.[1]

A reliability check of the "content analysis scheme" used for this study produced the following results:

Principal Investigator and Coder One:

$$C.R. = \frac{2\ (240)}{270 + 270} = 0.89$$

Principal Investigator and Coder Two:

$$C.R. = \frac{2\ (190)}{217 + 217} = 0.87$$

Principal Investigator and Coder Three:

$$C.R. = \frac{2\ (612)}{673 + 673} = 0.90$$

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[1] According to Holsti (1969) this coefficient of reliability is widely used in content analysis research.

This formula has been criticized, however, because it does not correct for error by chance. In order to correct for inter-coder agreement which may have resulted from chance Scott's index of reliability (pi) was also applied (Scott, 1955).

Scott's (pi) corrects not only for the number of categories in a category set, but also for the probable frequency with which each is used.

Scott's (pi) is computed as follows:

$$pi = \frac{\text{\% observed agreement - \% expected agreement}}{\text{1 - \% expected agreement}}$$

To use this formula for our data it was first necessary to determine the percentage of expected agreement arrived at by chance. This was done by finding the proportion of items falling into each category of a category set, and summing the square of those proportions.

Randomized selections of the data coded by our three Coders was computed as follows:

Data from Textbooks Coded by Coder One

Category	Frequency	Proportion of All Themes*
Race and Ethnic Relations	67	0.228
Distribution of Income, Goods and Services	170	0.585
Political Negotiations and Processes	0	0.000
Ecological Practices	57	0.197

*Content Unit = Paragraph

Following Scott's formula, the expected agreement for this first case then was:

$$(0.228)^2 + (0.585)^2 + (0.197)^2 = 0.38$$

That is, even if two Coders assigned content units to categories randomly, they should have agreed in this instance on about 38% of the items. Since the observed level of agreement for the Principal Investigator and Coder One was 0.98 we could then compute (pi) as follows:

$$pi = \frac{0.89 - 0.38}{1 - 0.38} = 0.82$$

Data from Textbooks Coded by Coder Two

Category	Frequency	Proportion of All Themes*
Race and Ethnic Relations	130	0.572
Distribution of Income, Goods and Services	29	0.127
Political Negotiations and Processes	24	0.105
Ecological Practices	44	0.193

*Content Unit = Paragraph

The expected agreement for this second case then was:

$$(0.572)^2 + (0.127)^2 + (0.105)^2 + (0.193)^2 = 0.39$$

Since the observed level of agreement for the Principal Investigator and Coder Two was 0.87 we could compute for (pi):

$$pi = \frac{0.87 - 0.39}{1 - 0.39} = 0.79$$

Data from Textbooks Coded by Coder Three

Category	Frequency	Proportion of All Themes*
Race and Ethnic Relations	115	0.200
Distribution of Income, Goods and Services	113	0.196
Political Negotiations and Processes	115	0.200
Ecological Practices	230	0.419

*Content Unit = Paragraph

The expected agreement for this third and final case then was:

$$(0.200)^2 + (0.196)^2 + (0.200)^2 + (0.419)^2 = 0.52$$

Since the observed level of agreement for the Principal Investigator and Coder Three was 0.90 we could compute for (pi):

$$pi = \frac{0.90 - 0.52}{1 - 0.52} = 0.79$$

According to Berelson[2], of all the commonly used recoding units of analysis for content analysis research, the theme is one of the most difficult with which to achieve a high degree of coder reliability. We feel that

[2] Berelson, op.cit.

the 80% inter-coder reliability coefficients we achieved--even when corrected for error by chance--were sufficiently high to justify confidence in our category scheme and our method of analysis. Our data is well within the acceptable levels established by content analysis experts.

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TEXTBOOKS ANALYZED FOR THIS STUDY

Grade Three

Bacon, P. and Boyce, R., Towns and Cities. San Francisco: Field Educational Publications, Inc., 1970.

Center for the study of Instruction, The Social Sciences: Concepts and Values (level three), New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1970.

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